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WEEKLY NOTES.

THE Funding Bill effected the result which might have been expected, in producing a disastrous tightness in the money market, through the sudden withdrawal of some seventeen millions of circulation. The distress ceased in great measure after a few days, partly because of Mr. SHERMAN's large purchase of bonds, and partly because of the growth of the conviction that the bill would not become a law. Its friends in the House passed the bill as it came from the Senate without further amendment. They would have insured its defeat, had they sent it back to the Senate within a few days of the end of the session, as nothing could prevent its being talked to death in that body, where there was no "previous question" to force a vote. From what we knew of Mr. HAYES, we believed that the measure would not obtain his signature, and our confidence was justified by the result, as the President vetoed it within a few hours after its passage. This was one of the last, but not one of the least, of Mr. HAYES's services to his country.

The most curious feature of the situation is the seeming apathy and powerlessness of the banking interest to prevent the passage of the measure. The national banks have been declared by their enemies the most powerful "lobby" in Washington. They are credited with a very effective resistance to other measures which are supposed to militate against their interests. In the present instance, they appeared to be unable to effect anything. We believe that their influence with regard to other measures has arisen from the fact that their interests were regarded as identical with a sound monetary policy, and that so soon as they cease to hold that position in the public mind, they will become comparatively powerless for the control of legislation. In the present case they lost this advantage; and there was in some localities a disposition among the other classes of business people to give the Funding Bill their support, whether the banks liked it or not.

That the banks made so little effort to defeat the bill, is a matter of just surprise. They seemed to be apathetic about everything except withdrawing their currency; and very few of them have been taking even that precaution. Not one dollar in twenty of their circulation has been affected. The bill itself originated with a representative of our greatest money centre, and one who, whatever his other faults, was always regarded as sound on money questions. But no pressure was brought to bear upon him comparable to that by which he was forced, a few years ago, to make great modifications in his abortive Tariff Bill before laying it before the House.

Mr. GARFIELD's progress from his home at Mentor to Washington was the occasion of a great outburst of affection on the part of his old neighbors, and of popular regard along the route, which made the journey a marked contrast to that of his predecessor. It was not until he had reached Harrisburg that Mr. HAYES learned definitely that he had been declared the President-elect. It recalls, also, by the contrast, the still more gloomy journey of the first Republican President to Washington, when the nation seemed going to pieces, and it was necessary to change the proposed route to avoid assassins who were lying in wait for the life of a President-elect of the United States.

Mr. GARFIELD's speeches at the few stopping-places along the route were all that could be desired. They were the frank, unpre-

meditated utterances of a man who feels both the honors and the responsibilities of his new place, and who responds in a candid way to the popular regard. He enters upon the office with the great good-will of the American people; and should his Administration be less than a great success, there will be a very general disappointment at the result. That Mr. GARFIELD has been decidedly successful as a member of the National Legislature, even his severest critics confess. But they doubt his possession of the qualities which are needed for the executive office. They say he could get on with less intellectual brilliancy, if he had more personal decision. They admit that he can be as firm as the everlasting hills, where a matter of principle is directly at issue. They doubt his ability to act promptly in the smaller but more numerous, and therefore not less important, situations, where abstract principle will not suffice in the absence of business tact and the sharp intuitions of the man of practice. Here, it is true, is just where the new office will try him, and will confirm either the doubts of his critics or the hopes of his friends. Among the latter we reckon ourselves. We look for a great and brilliant Administration, because we believe that Mr. GARFIELD's powers are of that high order which adapt themselves easily to new situations. The man who turned from teaching to soldiering, and from soldiering to legislation, and made his mark in all these, is not likely to be at a loss when called as President, while still a young and teachable man, to duties less alien to his previous career than each of these was in its turn. We look to see him astonish even his friends.

THE United States is governed in theory by a President, but the governing power is so largely in the hands of Congress that it is a great advantage to a President to have had a long Congressional experience. This has fallen to the lot of but few Presidents. It was the greatest misfortune of General GRANT's career that he had never been in Congress when he came to the Presidency. He began by applying to his new office the maxims current in the only branch of public life with which he had any familiarity. He selected his Cabinet much as he might have made up a military staff,—with no regard to claims and conciliations. Finding that he was getting farther wrong every day, and having no one—after he lost General RAWLINS,—on whose advice he could rely, he seems to have said to himself, "These people know politics, and I do not. They might just as well run the machine." So he put himself into the hands of the party leaders, especially of the Senatorial Ring.

Mr. GARFIELD has no need of any such surrender of his own judgment. He knows the legislative branch of the Government as thoroughly as any man living. He knows the make-up of the party well enough to choose good men, and he is so free from special obligations of any kind that he will have no excuse if he selects worse than the best. And he has such an opportunity as has fallen to few Presidents, of stamping his best thoughts and purposes upon his Administration. If he allows any one to use him, it will be a gratuitous blunder.

THE reply of Collector MERRITT to the demand for information as to the working of the Civil Service Reform in the New York Custom House, is a document which will do much to gladden the hearts of the friends of that reform. We hardly expect them to re-

mind the public that it is to be taken with all the allowance due to an *ex parte* statement,—that Mr. MERRITT is interested to make out the best case possible, and that even figures which have been carried out to three places of decimals are not always worthy of implicit confidence. Still, the enemies of the reform can hardly be allowed to lay much emphasis on these points, as it was they who called for the information which the paper contains, and thus gave Mr. MERRITT his opportunity.

We are surprised to find with what cordiality this exhibit of Custom House efficiency is hailed by *The Times* of New York. The most damaging charges against Mr. MERRITT are those which that journal has published and has never yet retracted. It charged him, last spring, with removing from office trusted and experienced officials, for no other reason than that they did not support Mr. SHERMAN's candidacy for the Presidency. It charged him, more recently, with withholding for three days the order of Mr. SHERMAN setting aside Mr. FRENCH's ruling in regard to sheet iron, and thus causing a loss of an unascertained amount to the national revenue. How such charges are consistent with the lofty eulogies it now pours upon him and the reform, we do not profess to understand.

The friends of Civil Service examinations are evidently extremely nervous as to Mr. GARFIELD's attitude toward this question. They cannot appeal to a word he ever uttered in approval of this method of selecting Government officials, although he discussed the matter in his letter of acceptance and elsewhere. But they seem to be working themselves up to the belief that his Administration will be a sad failure, if he "retreats" from the position taken by Mr. HAYES in this matter. We do not share these apprehensions. We think the proper reform of the Civil Service is an urgent matter, of whose urgency Mr. GARFIELD is well aware. But we think also that he is right in refusing to identify that reform and the cause of good government with competitive examinations. No doubt the introduction of these examinations was a gain to England, since it destroyed the excessive influence of the aristocracy, and threw open the Civil Service to a tenfold greater body of persons than had been eligible previously. It naturally followed the transfer of power in 1832 from the aristocracy to the middle classes. But in America the operation of the rule would be exactly the reverse. It would create the grievance which it removed in England, by excluding from the Civil Service the majority of the class which actually governs the country.

THE Free Traders in Congress have entered upon an alliance for the promotion of their cause. Mr. HURD, Mr. MORRISON and Mr. COX are the most notable members of the new confederacy. It certainly was time for some such movement, for the Democratic party has broken down most woefully as a Free Trade organization. For years past it has had control of the legislation in both houses, and, except Mr. J. S. MOORE's miserable bill to take the duty off quinine and leave it on the materials of its manufacture, it has done absolutely nothing in a Free Trade direction. It abandoned Mr. WOOD's Tariff Bill in the face of the united opposition of the manufacturing interests. It resisted every subsequent attempt to bring the matter to a distinct issue, and allowed the Committee on Ways and Means to bury one after another of the snap measures by which the tariff was to be broken down in detail. The revenue measures proposed during this Congress would fill scores of volumes. Those actually passed would not fill a page. No, this Congress has done nothing for Free Trade, except to prevent the passage of Mr. EATON's bill for a revision of the tariff. It is, therefore, high time that the righteous and consistent few, the *ecclesia in ecclesia*, should make themselves felt, and should stand up to have noses counted.

It is just possible, however, that the Democrats at large know their business quite as well as the Free Traders in their ranks do.

They got a lesson last fall in this matter, which they have not forgotten, nor are likely soon to forget. A good many of them owe their seats in the next Congress to distinct pledges to support Protection. Others, Mr. HURD for instance, owe their absence from the next Congress to their failure to give such pledges. And the mission of the party not being, in the opinion of the majority, to run its head against stone walls, we should not be surprised at finding that the Democrats fight very shy of this question for the future.

As the session approached its close, it was evident that the Senate's Judicial Committee had made up their mind to bury in their Committee-Room Mr. HAYES's objectionable nominations, in the conviction that Mr. GARFIELD would recall them at the opening of the executive session, which began March 4th. As this could be done only with nominations which came near the close of a session of an expiring Congress, it cannot be regarded as an unfair proceeding. It is just at such times, when executive responsibility approaches a minimum, that objectionable nominations are likely to be made; and this way of disposing of them is as convenient as any other. If the votes of the Senate on that of Mr. STANLEY MATTHEWS were to be weighed instead of counted, it would be defeated by the opposition of such Senators as EDMUNDS and THURMAN. But, unfortunately, a large number of the smaller men of both parties could be counted on to vote for approval, the Democrats being influenced especially by Mr. HENRY WATTERSON's vigorous lobbying in his kinsman's behalf.

We objected to the nomination of Mr. GEORGE FORSTER for General WOODFORD's place as District-Attorney for Southern New York, not from any personal feeling against Mr. FORSTER, but simply on the ground that such an official as Mr. WOODFORD should not be replaced by any one. But the case against his removal becomes much stronger since Mr. HAYES has withdrawn Mr. FORSTER's name and substituted that of Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. SHEPPARD's family connections are such as to identify him with the railroad interest, and until that interest has come to a clearer understanding with the people and the Government, the approaches to power should be shut against its representatives. Especially is this true of an attorneyship which has several railroad suits pending.

THE solid men of Boston, with a contingent of "literary fellers" and reformers, have invited CARL SCHURZ to a dinner. This is natural enough. Secretary SCHURZ is a leader of a section of the Republican party that is particularly strong in Massachusetts, and those who compose this section of the party have the weakness, common to humanity, of desiring to stand by their leaders under all circumstances and conditions. When a leader is attacked, his followers feel that he must be supported on general principles, and without much reference to the particular matter in question. Instances of this temper are common enough. When SUMNER and SCHURZ were assailing with great vigor, and with good ground, the course of President GRANT in the San Domingo business, there were multitudes of good people all over the land, who, remembering General GRANT's great services in other directions, felt bound to testify their confidence in him, without investigating or caring a fig about the merits of the case which provoked the criticism. When DANIEL WEBSTER was sharply reprov'd by the opponents of the slave power for his submission to it, his Boston worshippers felt bound to give emphatic expression to their confidence, and did so. Their genuine and sincere admiration, however, did not alter history. And all the napkins that will be needed at the Boston dinner to CARL SCHURZ will not avail to wipe out the fact that, in violation of law, he forced a tribe of peaceful Indians to leave their homes, removed them to an inhospitable land, where they suffered grievously, and has persistently opposed, with the whole power of

his personal and official influence, every effort to redress the wrong by restoring them to their own land or giving them an opportunity to return if they should choose to do so. Whatever else he has done, he has done that also; and there is not champagne enough in Boston to make the action seem creditable to him or to any thoughtful persons who respect rights more than reputations.

In several of the State Legislatures the question of the proper regulation of the liquor traffic is under consideration. That of Massachusetts contemplates a return to the prohibitory law which was in force a few years ago. That of Ohio has before it a measure whose general character is expressed by the statement of its authors that they mean to "tax the business into respectability or out of existence." In North Carolina a very rigorous license law has passed one branch, while some hoped for a prohibitory law. It is reported that any action of this sort will give great offence, and will alienate votes in the western part of the State, among the mountain counties; and it is reported that the Republicans are watching their chance to make political capital in that quarter. If they did, they would be playing exactly the game adopted by the Democrats of Ohio, who expect to get back into office by the help of the Germans who will be offended by the enactment and enforcement of temperance and Sunday laws. This might be alleged as another confirmation of the somewhat fanciful theory that, in spite of theoretical differences, the Democratic party of the South corresponds in general character to the Republican party of the North, and *vice versa*.

A NEWSPAPER in this city, which is regarded in some quarters as an authority in such matters, has been laboring to cast doubts upon the victory of the Independents at Harrisburg. The public are told that Mr. CAMERON and his followers played a very skillful trick upon the Independents in misrepresenting Mr. MITCHELL's relations to themselves, and in leading their opponents to ascribe to him an independence of which he hardly makes any profession. And it is said that the whole result is a victory for the CAMERON machine, as Mr. MITCHELL will be a mere echo of Mr. CAMERON in the Senate. This statement calls for notice because *The Times* is sometimes classed as an Independent paper, and is therefore supposed to know something about such matters. In the present instance, it shows, and has shown throughout the struggle, a complete ignorance of what was going on beneath the surface at Harrisburg. Mr. MITCHELL was voted for in the committee by Mr. WOLFE, before the regulars ever thought of taking him up. Mr. WOLFE and his friends then had a conference about the matter, and told the other half of the committee that they were tired of this pretence at conference where no conference was meant, and that, for their part, they meant to vote alternately for Mr. GEORGE SHIRAS of Pittsburg and Mr. MITCHELL during the rest of the committee's sessions. Finding the Independents solidified on these two as a finality, the regulars had a conference, and as Mr. SHIRAS's election would have been a blow to the Pennsylvania Railroad, they agreed to accept Mr. MITCHELL as the lesser of two evils. In view of the success of the Independents in the city election, and of Mr. CAMERON's abandonment of the struggle after telegraphing them to take the best man they could get, they knew that they could not long postpone the election. They knew and every one knew, that Mr. MITCHELL was not a pronounced antagonist of Mr. CAMERON'S. But the fact that he was a BLAINE man in 1880, and that he has declared his independence of the CAMERON faction since his election, are sufficient justification of his selection by the Independents. Mr. WOLFE was not deceived, nor has he been deceived often in State politics.

The public should understand that *The Times* represents nobody but its Democratic proprietors and the political DUGALD DAL-

GETTY who fills the chair of editor-in-chief. Col. A. K. McCCLURE is a fair writer of news letters, but a person of no special insight into politics; and he has no access to confidential information as to the doings of the enemies of the Machine in this State. He sat at Chicago with the GARFIELD nomination going forward beneath his very eyes, under the management of persons not unknown to himself; but, as his letters showed, he knew nothing more of what was happening than the veriest tyro in the reporting force. But he is always rushing to the front with some startling discovery which, on closer examination, proves a *canard*. His grand discovery of the bargain made at the Mentor conference is quite on a par with this last one that JOHN I. MITCHELL wears the CAMERON collar.

THE draft of a treaty for the establishment of international copyright between America and England, is under discussion in England, and already there have been brought to light two difficulties growing out of the differences between the commercial policy of our own country and that of England. The first is that the treaty proposes to confer on English publishers the same exclusive right of manufacture in England of books whose copyright they own, as is claimed for American publishers in America. It would be illegal to import into England any copy of an American book whose author had sold to an English publisher the right to reprint it in England, and *vice versa*. This exclusive right the Ministry could not create by the negotiation of a treaty. While the approval of Parliament is not needed in ordinary cases, no treaty is allowed to modify the law to this extent without the passage of an act of Parliament for its enforcement. And to an act creating such a monopoly there will be some opposition among the English Free Traders. The House of Representatives, it is to be remarked, is thus fully sustained by British precedent, in its claim that no treaty should be contracted for the modification of the revenue laws without the approval of the House as well as the Senate. The second difficulty is that the British publishers have wakened up to the fact that the treaty now proposed is one which contemplates not publishers' but authors' copyright. It is they who have been the most clamorous for international copyright, and have felt most injured by its refusal. But the new arrangement takes no account of their feelings. It provides for a bargain directly between the British author and the American publisher, and it gives no legal force to any other. Their opposition may result in a defeat for the measure; but they will get but scanty sympathy from the public at large. Literary history is not complimentary to the English publishers. It brings to light few or no such honored names as those of Perthes, Cotta and Tauchnitz in Germany, and Didot in France. It tells of Carlyle tramping from shop to shop, first with "Sartor Resartus" and then with the "French Revolution." It shows the burden of great literary undertakings to have been thrown upon the Government, or a learned society, or the author himself. On the whole, we can bear the griefs of the British publisher. The worst fault in the proposed treaty is the provision allowing American editions to be manufactured from his stereotype plates.

THE first of the Coercion Bills is hurrying through the last stages necessary for its enactment into law, and two others are in readiness; so that the Ministry demand urgency for them, and promise a Land Bill about the middle of the month. This is the way of pacifying Ireland and making it a contented member of the British Empire. First the strait jacket, or rather three strait jackets, and then the soothing draught.

The English say that the effect of this legislation is already seen in the decay of the Land League and the increased quiet of the island. If the Coercion Laws are to have the effect of making the Irish people draw back from the agitation represented by the Land

League, then so much the worse for England. Out of repression come secret societies, not to reform the laws, but to get rid of the law-makers. And since the Irish people have spread through both Great Britain and America, their secret societies are become very formidable affairs. They may not be very powerful. Their uprisings may be easily put down. But it does not add to John Bull's comfort to know that he may at any moment come upon a nitroglycerine can in a place where its explosion would have been a good deal worse than inconvenient. This is a more unpleasant alternative than Land League agitation, but this is the alternative which any Government accepts when it suppresses agitation.

THE English excuse is that they believe they have both evils to deal with already, and that England as well as Ireland is the scene of secret conspiracies, which will stop short at no violence. This they fully believe, and the belief has driven them into a panic, which even their especial friends on our side of the Atlantic find not a little ridiculous. The truth is, that the English, although no cowards, are the most panicky people in the world, and the most ready to do cruel as well as ridiculous things when the fright is on them. Their doings in Governor EYRE's time in Jamaica are a specimen of their capabilities in this line, but these fell far short of their Irish exploits in '98. There is no widespread conspiracy of the Irish, either in England or anywhere else, which aims at blowing up British magazines and burning British towns. The time may come when the Irish people will shrink from nothing which the laws of war allow, in their struggle with English power; but they do not mean to practice gratuitous atrocities in time of peace. It is true that there was an attempt on the magazine at Salford; but, although some hot-headed Irishman may have been guilty of it, there is no evidence as to its authors. Mr. O'DONOVAN ROSSA, who now stands for nobody but himself, claims the credit of the deed; but lays bare his motive when he bases on it an appeal for more money for similar enterprises. Mr. ROSSA had as much to do with it as with the death of Sir GEORGE COLLEY in the Transvaal. Mr. ROSSA's grievance is that the Irish Nationalists of America have cut loose from him, and have repudiated his violent speeches and plans; and he now wants to set up an O'DONOVAN ROSSA movement for the emancipation of Ireland. *No tali auxilio.*

It is, unfortunately, always in the power of fools to play in this way into the hands of the enemy; and agitation, among its other drawbacks, does tend to bring the fools into a prominence they would not otherwise obtain. The anti-slavery cause in America was kept back by the bad effects of the unwise speeches of a few extremists, which the greater part of even the Abolitionists deplored, but which were constantly quoted by the pro-slavery press as fairly representative of the whole movement. The Southern people, since the war, have suffered in the same way from the wild utterances of persons who have no representative character and no standing in the South.

THE third severe blow to the British forces in the Transvaal has cost the English the life of a general upon whom they had counted as one of the military supports of the Empire. While never before tested by practical service in an independent command, Sir GEORGE COLLEY has been regarded as surpassing most of his compeers in military science, especially in strategy. Yet he has sustained three defeats at the hands of an enemy he was foolish enough to despise, and in the last he, together with a large part of his command, met his death. It is undeniable that the general estimate has underrated the Boers' powers of resistance. They are well armed, skilled in the use of good rifles, and they show a discipline, and a power of calm movement in the face of the enemy and under fire, which no one would have expected of a force raised and officered as theirs has been. Stranger things have happened than that they should hold their own against the British in the Transvaal.

OUR record of events at home and abroad closes with the week ending March 3d:—

All the boilermakers in Chicago struck on the 1st for an advance in wages.

The trial of Colonel CASH, at Darlington, S. C., for the murder of Colonel SHANNON in a duel, resulted on Saturday in the disagreement of the jury. It is understood that the jurors stood four for conviction and eight for acquittal.

The usual Mardi Gras procession and other fooleries took place in New Orleans and other Southern cities, according to custom, on the 1st. The weather being fine, the parades of the "Mystic Krew of Comus," in New Orleans, were unusually brilliant, both in the day and evening.

A telegram from Chicago says prominent physicians attribute the "winter cholera," which has prevailed alarmingly in that city this winter, to the use, not of Lake water, but of "butterine," in the composition of which hog products largely enter. They say "the process of making the compound does not require the high temperature which is necessary in refining lard, and the germ of the disease might pass through the process without being killed."

The Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision in the case of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company against the United States, upon the appeal from the Court of Claims on the 28th ult. The Steamship Company had sued in the lower court to recover the amount of seven quarterly payments for carrying the United States mails between San Francisco and China, at an annual compensation of \$500,000. The Government alleged that the steamers used by the Company were not such as required by the contract, and the Court of Claims awarded the Company only \$41,666, instead of \$541,666, the amount of the Company's claim. The Supreme Court reverses the judgment of the Court below, holding that the Pacific Mail Company had the right to use the steamships which it did use in carrying the mails under the contract, and that it is entitled to payment for the trips made.

A decree is published declaring Batoum, on the Black Sea, a free port.

A bill incorporating the Orange Society of Western Ontario has been rejected in the Ontario Legislature by a vote of 56 to 19.

True bills have been found against SUSAN W. FLETCHER, JAMES FLETCHER and SUSAN MORTON, for defrauding JULIET A. DAVIES by means of alleged spiritual manifestations, and they will be tried at the April term of the Court of Sessions, London.

A. B. STICKNEY, General Superintendent of the Canadian Pacific Railway under the syndicate, has arrived at Winnipeg, and the work of organization for the construction and future operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Manitoba has been begun.

The Ministry of Cape Colony have addressed to Sir HERCULES ROBINSON, the Governor, an official protest against the course of the British Government in condemning the terms offered to the Basutos by the Government of the Colony. The armistice has expired, but heavy rains prevent the resumption of hostilities.

Mr. MUNDELLA, Vice-President of the British Board of Trade, announced on the 1st that the Government had no intention to prohibit the importation of American pork. There was no evidence to show that the trichinosis was prevalent in Chicago, and the report that two persons had died in Dublin from eating pork affected with the disease was not substantiated.

A deputation of British authors and publishers called upon JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, President of the British Board of Trade, on the 1st, for the purpose of submitting the resolutions passed at the meeting of publishers on the 12th of February, to consider the subject of a copyright treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said that their recommendation—which is in favor of accepting the draft of the proposal submitted by Mr. LOWELL as a basis for negotiation—should have the earnest attention of the Government.

THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

THE HAYES Administration has passed into history; and the time has come for such review of its policy and such judgment of its aims and results as may be practicable to those who are yet scarcely out of its presence.

It came into office, four years ago, with a cloud upon its title, and aroused popular anxiety and excitement wholly without precedent. Its first two years of service may be said to have been tur-

bulent. On the one hand, a hostile House of Representatives, incited by a fierce partisanship, menaced it with proceedings intended to test its right to administer the Government. On the other hand, a large section of the party which brought it into power violently assailed it as guilty of treacherous abandonment of, and cruel indifference to, the political rights of its only friends in the late slave-holding States. To add to the complications of the situation, Civil Service Order No. 1 was, without warning or discussion, within four months after inauguration day, imposed upon every officer responsible to the Executive. It had not the sanction of law, and was in the form of a military order, and concluded its command with the curt declaration that "every officer of the General Government is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements." It stunned with surprise or mortification the persons at whom it was aimed, and whom it publicly humiliated. The haste of its issue and the crudeness of its provisions unpleasantly impressed those who approved the purpose which appeared to induce it. And the public, observing the incidents of its enforcement, soon came to regard it as a measure which brought as much mischief as it cured. To this opinion, President HAYES seems ultimately to have arrived, as, after the novelty of its execution had subsided and a few victims had been gathered, there ceased to be an effort to enforce it. Personal antagonisms increased the entanglements. Senatorial hostility was invited by the defiance given in selecting Cabinet and other high positions, not only without consultation, but in opposition to the well-known wishes of party chiefs. Party fidelity was shocked by placing the Post-Office Department in the care of a Democratic Confederate who had, up to that time, never cast a Republican vote. Among Republicans everywhere, there was dissatisfaction at what was known, and deep anxiety over the apprehended evils of which only the premonitions appeared.

In the history of our Government, no Administration ever opened so unpromisingly. It was, practically, without a party. The Democracy were, as one man, in opposition. The Republicans were hopelessly divided from the day the Cabinet nominations were sent to the Senate. The Administration thus had, at the beginning, the distrust of those who had expected to be its friends, without having even the respect of those who were expected to be its foes. The political situation was wholly anomalous, as, indeed, were the circumstances attending its creation. The Administration came into existence through the adjudication of an extra Constitutional tribunal, as the only escape from threatened and impending violence. And upon the instant of its exercise of authority, so devolved, the supporting arms of the great organization whose principles it represented were in great measure withdrawn.

Looked at and considered solely in reference to its comparatively local effects, the Southern policy of President HAYES must be considered a failure. It is understood that he so regards it. He, however, justifies the policy on the ground of the necessity of the situation at the time, and of his belief in the possibility of advancing Southern civilization through the agencies thus placed within his reach. That belief was misplaced. Whether deliberate purpose of deception by these leaders be asserted of them or denied, the fact remained that the results have not made good the high-sounding promises with which the President was met and the country was cajoled in the spring of 1877. On the other hand, the most dismal disappointment ensued, which, however, largely led to the great reaction which has since occurred, and which is known as the revival of "Stalwartism." President HAYES failed in his undertaking so far as the reform of the Southern Democracy was concerned; but he failed by reason of causes beyond his control, and chiefly by virtue of the great reserve power with which Southern ignorance and prejudice stamped out every indication of purpose to do justice to the negro. But in a higher and much

more important sense, the Southern policy of President HAYES was a success. It failed to secure for his party a footing in Southern States; but it preserved the power of his party in all the free States. In these, it had begun to totter; and largely because of the unrest resulting from the continued agitation of what was known as the "Southern Question." The public mind had begun to weary of it; and finally to feel that possibly force had been too long applied to those communities as a remedy for political wrong. The hope had dawned that with misfortune the change of heart stoutly professed had probably come to the Southern Democracy, and that the time was opportune for testing the depth and sincerity of the professed conversion. All indications showed that it would be dangerous to disregard this demand; and that, if disregarded, the large and influential classes who expressed it would effect the trial of experiment by making a change of Administration at the next election. This danger was the greatest in the great commercial States, but it existed in every portion of the North in greater or less force. President HAYES was in a position to know this. And it is probable that one of the facts which reconciled him to the adoption of his policy was the necessity of regarding and, if possible, avoiding this danger. However this may be, it is beyond doubt that the refusal of the Southern Democracy to carry out in good faith the profuse promises with which they met his advances, was the great factor which caused the subsequent consolidation of the entire Republican sentiment of the North, and which restored the unity without which the brilliant victory of 1880 would have been impossible. On the other hand, while this treachery of the Southern Democracy gained for them control of two or three Southern States, it cost them their supremacy in New York and several of the closer and smaller States of the North and, in fact, cost them the Presidency itself. The continuous denial of the political rights of the colored citizens in the Gulf States of the South disturbs the political equilibrium. It vastly and disproportionately increases the power over legislation of one class,—and that not the class in whose wisdom, or intelligence, or patriotism, the vast business interests of the country have been trained to confide. It greatly diminishes, as has been lately illustrated by the votes on the Funding Bill, the security of every man's property, so far as it can be affected by national legislation. This denial, so far from being a local question, is, in fact, a national one of the highest significance; and the country will not have rest, and the business of the nation will not have security, until well-founded distrust shall have given place to well-founded confidence, and until suffrage shall have become as "free and equal" in Charleston as it is in Boston, in Vicksburg as it is in Cleveland, in the cane-brakes of the South as it is on the prairies of the West. While the wrongs which prostrate the disfranchised classes of the Gulf States remain unredressed, there can be no permanent peace for the country; nor can there be the restful feeling of safety which is the presage of permanent prosperity, and which is the hand-maiden of Justice only.

We have alluded to the turbulence of the first two years of the life of the Administration. The last two were years of deep excitement, lacking only the passionateness which marked the former period. The chief incident in them was the controversy between the President and Congress over the repeal of the United States Election Laws. As to the presence of troops at the polls, he approved a provision that the army of the United States should not be used "as a police force to keep the peace at the polls at any election held within any State," while he vetoed provisions which denied to the United States even the necessary civil authority to protect the national elections, and which discriminated in favor of the State and against the national authority. He approved the bill repealing the law applying the "iron-clad" test oath to jurors, but repeatedly vetoed bills which aimed to annul the election-laws by prohibiting the employment of officers necessary to their en-

forcement. This controversy was memorable for the tenacity of purpose shown by both sides. The Democratic Congress viewed with intense dissatisfaction the enforcement of statutes which brought elections under the supervision of officials owing responsibility and duty to the Government of the United States. This was objected to as an innovation and unwarranted by Constitutional provision, and was odious as one of the "many relics of the civil war," which they proposed to wipe out. On the other hand, the laws were sustained by the Republicans in the interest of fair elections, and pronounced by the Supreme Court within the Constitutional authority of Congress and as indispensable to an honest count in the disturbed portions of the South and in the more populous cities of the North. The struggle aroused intense feeling in all portions of the country. It brought to the side of the President all the elements of the Republican party, and enlisted the approval of the "Independent" class, by all of whom the service then rendered to the cause of honest government was highly appreciated. In the presence of this danger, past differences were forgotten; and the Administration found itself, at its close, in more harmonious relations with its party than at any time since its inauguration. Personal resentments prevented complete reconciliation, but the great public, which little heeds the personal grievances of politicians, did not fail to remember whose official power alone had stood between them and the degradation of our political system.

President HAYES, besides, has rendered the nation a great service by his steady maintenance of the highest probity on the financial question. Whoever wavered, he did not. Whoever bent to a storm of feeling, he remained firm. He exerted his influence by personal intercourse or message, and, where necessary, by the power of his Constitutional negative. Nothing swerved him from fidelity to pledges of the Government which were made under circumstances of danger such as would have added a shade of darkness to their repudiation. Under his administration, the most remarkable financial achievements of the era were accomplished,—achievements which are a brilliant proof of the inherent power of a free and honest people, and which have fixed upon the highest plane the financial credit of our country. No one can measure the value of these achievements. They individualize the great Republic, and as such were a real service to mankind. Besides, it must be confessed, as an act of simple justice, that during his term of office the public life of the nation has been lifted up. Official life has been conspicuously pure. Breaches of trust have disappeared. Absolute fidelity has become the rule. The public funds have been jealously guarded in receipt, transmission and disbursement. And the authentic results are such as to place our Civil Service in the front rank of the nations. It is natural to venerate the past, and not unnatural to admire the remote, over which the enchantment of distance spreads itself; but it may be safely claimed that history, either of this or any other country, will be searched in vain for such results of administration as were last year officially announced. The total collections and disbursements of the Government for the two fiscal years closing with June 30, 1879, covering the first two years of President HAYES's administration, reached the sum of \$3,353,629,855.49, on which the losses were \$2,676.81, or at the rate of 8-10 of a mill on \$1,000. In the remaining two years, there is no reason for supposing that the result has been different. It proves beyond question that the official life of the nation is higher than its business life; that administration of the nation's affairs has reached remarkable perfection of machinery and remarkable purity of results, and this while the commercial life of the country is constantly startled by defalcations, embezzlements and the multitude of other crimes for which the looser system prevailing in business circles affords facilities. All this deserves to be stated, though it may fall on some unwilling and incredulous ears; and it is a crushing reply to

those who would have the public believe that the Civil Service of the nation is corrupt, wasteful and demoralized. It is precisely the reverse of all this. It has been steadily improving for years, as Congress has been able to seize new guards, and as the power of rigorous administration has discovered and corrected old abuses. The Cabinet of President HAYES efficiently seconded his determination to effect retrenchment where practicable. Wastefulness was repressed; restraining laws were implicitly obeyed; personal will gave way to general good, and the best results ever achieved in the handling of public funds have been the vindication of these rigorous measures.

The conspicuously brilliant and successful management of foreign affairs under the administration of President GRANT left little which his successor could reap in this field. The Halifax award of November 23, 1877, has left behind it a suspicion of fraudulent suppression by the British authorities, the investigation of which will fall to the in-coming Administration. But the scope of consular labor has been extended; it has been more specially directed to the enlargement of the trade of the country; its investigations have been systematically presented to Congress and the public; and the department has been a valuable adjunct in the extension of our commerce.

We have indicated the depressing circumstances under which President HAYES took office. He leaves it under circumstances totally changed. The country has prospered to a remarkable degree during the period. Party spirit has been allayed rather than intensified. Republican ascendancy, so far from having been sacrificed, has been confirmed by the influences which his administration set in operation. He leaves office with the general respect of the country, which, not insensible to his mistakes, overlooks them as necessary incidents of administration and as atoned for by the substantial good obtained.

His successor takes office under circumstances as favorable as those during the accession of President HAYES were unfavorable. President HAYES came to it with little personal acquaintance with the public men of the country, and hence without knowledge of their special adaptations; and hence with extreme liability to the misjudgments, and in some cases the injustice, into which he fell. Besides, he had the prejudices which ignorance of men, as of things, always produces. President GARFIELD, on the other hand, has, by his seventeen years of continuous service in the House of Representatives, been able to make, and has made, a measurement of all the public men of the country, without regard to party. Hence his means of correctly judging in which position each can render the best service, is incalculably greater than were those of his immediate predecessor. In this respect he has a great advantage, as well, over both Presidents GRANT and LINCOLN, the latter of whom, however, made up for this want by calling to his Cabinet the most experienced chiefs of his party. The judgment of the Electoral Commission in 1877 fell upon embittered antagonists, who sullenly nursed their wrath, threatening, on opportunity, to vent it upon the official who chiefly profited by it. In 1880, however, the unquestioned choice of the people is cheerfully accepted, in the loyalty of true republicanism, by all the people. President GARFIELD has studied every problem which has baffled, or now baffles, American statesmanship. He comes, therefore, to his great office with a thoroughness of equipment not excelled in the history of the country; and he cannot fail to give to the executive office a unity and power such as it has rarely, if ever, had. And while we give a respectful salutation to the retiring officer, we are happy in being able to welcome right joyously the trained and able man whom the Chicago Convention happily selected, in tribute to his unquestioned abilities and great services, and whom, on full discussion, the people have distinctly chosen for the guardianship of their greatest trust.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, March 3d, 1881.

THE chief event of the week in Congress has been the action on the Funding Bill, which was finally concurred in by the House in the form in which it left the Senate. A supplementary bill has passed the House, amending the original bill. Besides this important matter, there has been nothing more important than the regular appropriation bills, which have been hurried along so that there will be no need of an extra session on account of them.

SENATE.

Thursday, February 24.—The Senate was in session only long enough for an announcement, after the chaplain's prayer, of the death this morning of HON. MATTHEW H. CARPENTER, Senator from Wisconsin. His colleague, Mr. CAMERON, proposed the customary resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. PENDLETON of Ohio.

Friday.—Mr. WALLACE of Pennsylvania submitted from the majority of the select committee to inquire into alleged election frauds, a report on Supervisors and Deputy Marshals, which caused it to be stated by Mr. BLAIR of New Hampshire, and other members of the Committee, that the report had not been submitted to or considered by the committee as a whole. Mr. WALLACE stated that he had been authorized by the majority to prepare and present the report.

Saturday.—Mr. KERNAN of New York reported favorably on the House bill for a classified abridgment of all letters patent issued by the United States. Mr. VANCE of North Carolina introduced a bill for the purchase of the private papers of Confederate Generals BRAGG and POLK relating to the war. A provision for the same purpose was struck out of an appropriation bill in the House. Mr. BURNSIDE of Rhode Island made a speech in favor of the resolution recently reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, declaring the attitude of our Government with respect to the Isthmus canal scheme. The River and Harbor Bill was considered until far into the night, and, after the adoption of many amendments increasing the appropriation, was passed. About a dozen members made a persistent but ineffectual opposition to the bill. All amendments looking to a reduction of the amount were promptly laid on the table.

Monday.—Mr. CONKLING of New York reported favorably from the Judiciary Committee the House bill for the registration and protection of trade-marks. The Senate took up the House bill providing a construction fund for the Navy, to be obtained by selling off old hulks and useless material. The terms of the bill were objected to, as conferring too much discretion in the use of the fund on the Secretary of the Navy, by Messrs. BLAIR of New Hampshire, BECK of Kentucky, DAVIS of West Virginia and CONKLING of New York. It was supported by McPHERSON of New Jersey, DAWES of Massachusetts, and others; but finally, on motion of Mr. INGALLS of Kansas, was recommitted, which is the end of it in this Congress. Mr. CAMERON of Pennsylvania presented a memorial of the Philadelphia Board of Trade in favor of an Inter-State Commerce Committee, and said that at the coming session he would re-introduce the bill introduced by him this session, and endeavor to get action upon it. Mr. WINDOM of Minnesota made a speech on the resolution asserting the intention of the United States to protect its own interests in respect to ship transportation across the Isthmus of Panama, maintaining the wisdom of such an assertion; but also declaring that the United States ought not to stand in the way of the world's progress, and ought, therefore, to immediately take steps to establish such a route. Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts offered an amendment to the resolution, declaring the duty of providing for one or more transit ways across the Isthmus. Mr. BAYARD of Delaware supported a joint resolution for the relief of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, in the matter of the Internal Revenue tax on certain due bills issued by the Company. After a discussion, the resolution was laid aside without action.

Tuesday.—The Committee on Foreign Affairs asked to be and were excused from further consideration of Isthmus canal routes. The Japanese Indemnity Fund Bill was then considered, Mr. MORGAN of Alabama offering an amendment for the payment of prize money out of the fund to the officers and men of the "Wyoming," which was accepted by Mr. EATON of Connecticut, who had charge of the bill. Without disposing of the matter, the Senate took a recess, and at the evening session several House bills on the calendar were passed, the most important of which was one for the registration and protection of trade-marks.

Wednesday.—The Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill was reported from the Appropriations Committee, with additions aggregating over two millions dollars, mostly for new public buildings and similar purposes. The Senate immediately proceeded to the consideration of it, as in Committee of the Whole.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, February 24.—By a vote of 143 to 68, the House took up the Apportionment Bill. Mr. HAMMOND of Georgia and Mr. HAYES

of Illinois made speeches upon it, after which Mr. COX of New York demanded the previous question. Mr. CONGER of Michigan demanded more time for debate. Then followed a long debate on questions of order, which ended by a resort to filibustering on the part of the Republicans, they refusing to vote and the Democrats being unable to muster a quorum.

Friday.—At the continuation of Thursday's session, the death of Senator CARPENTER was announced, and the House, as a mark of respect, adjourned. Fifteen minutes afterwards, Friday's session began. Mr. DAGGETT of Nevada presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State on the subject of railroad discriminations, and made a speech on the subject. The joint resolution authorizing the President to invite foreign Governments to participate in the proposed international exhibition in New York, was passed. Despite the fact that this was the last private bill day, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill.

Saturday.—Mr. WEAVER of Iowa endeavored to secure consent to the use of the hall of the House Saturday evening, for a member of the German Reichstag to deliver a lecture, but he failed. Consideration of the Sundry Civil Bill was resumed in Committee, and the coaling stations amendment was adopted. An appropriation of \$8,000 was inserted for the purchase of a portrait of the late THOMAS EWING. The appropriation for surveying public lands was increased from \$200,000 to \$300,000. An amendment appropriating \$25,000 to carry out existing laws regarding the appointment of a Civil Service Commission, was rejected.

Monday.—The House met at ten o'clock in continuation of Saturday's session. Mr. CLYMER of Pennsylvania presented a portrait of FREDERICK A. MUHLENBURG, Speaker of the First and Third Congresses. Most of the Committee of the Whole's amendments to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill were adopted. Monday's session began at eleven o'clock. The Sundry Civil Bill was passed. This was the last day for the offering of new bills, and some additions were made to the list, making the total of bills and joint resolutions for this Congress 7,664. Mr. MAHONEY of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, moved to proceed to business on the Speaker's table, in order to take up the Funding Bill. This motion was followed by a long wrangle over points of order, the opponents of the Refunding Bill maintaining that Mr. MAHONEY's motion was not in order until the unfinished business, namely, the Apportionment Bill, was disposed of. There were appeals from the decision of the Chair, and motions to adjourn and to take a recess, upon which the yeas and nays were ordered, and at half-past six a recess was taken until eight o'clock, the evening session being devoted to eulogies of the late FERNANDO WOOD.

Tuesday.—The Deficiency Bill, the last of the general appropriation bills, was reported by Mr. McMAHON of Ohio. The House adopted a report of the Committee on Elections confirming the right of Mr. ACKLEN of Louisiana to his seat. The rest of the day and evening, until after midnight, was spent in an effort to obtain action on the Funding Bill, the Republicans making all possible delays without resorting to outright filibustering. It was five o'clock before the unfinished business was laid aside and the bills on the Speaker's table in the way of the Funding Bill got out of the way. Mr. CONGER of Michigan, who led the opposition, interposed points of order against the Senate amendments, which were overruled. Mr. TUCKER's demand for the previous question on the amendments was seconded—100 yeas; 60 nays. The Senate amendments, except four, three of them among the more important ones, were concurred in.

Wednesday.—Yesterday's session was resumed at ten o'clock. Mr. TUCKER demanded the previous question on the KIRKWOOD amendment to the Funding Bill, providing for making the loan a popular one. There was no quorum present.

When a quorum was obtained, the Funding Bill was temporarily laid aside, and the Deficiency Appropriation Bill was taken up, Mr. McMAHON of Ohio moving to pass it under suspension of the rules. Mr. HISCOCK of New York criticised the bill for its failure to make adequate appropriations for the Internal Revenue Bureau, for public printing and for pay of United States marshals. Mr. McMAHON replied, the rules were suspended, and the bill passed. Consideration of the Funding Bill being resumed, enough Republicans joined in the vote to make a quorum, and the previous question was ordered on the amendment, which was adopted. From this time on, there was only legitimate opposition, it being evident that filibustering was useless. Soon after five o'clock, all the Senate amendments had been concurred in without change. There were many interesting passages in the debates that attended the controversy, especially that over the amendment proposed by Mr. CONGER of Michigan to strike out part of the fifth section. Immediately after the last vote on the bill, Mr. CARLISLE of Kentucky introduced a supplementary bill amending the bill just passed. The supplementary bill contained all the provisions of the amendments which the Committee of Ways and Means had purposed to make to the original bill, but which had been defeated in order to avoid sending the bill back to the Senate. The supplementary bill was passed.

THE SOUTH.

A SYMPOSIUM.

IN THE AMERICAN for February 5, we published the first instalment of a series of letters from Southern men in review of the Southern political situation, with reference to national affairs. These letters were elicited by questions in writing, with the sole object of bringing about a better understanding between North and South, to the end that national unity may be promoted through the obliteration of sectional lines. All of the replies received are from men whose relations to the Federal and State Governments, or whose social and political antecedents and influence, make their opinions of great value to the student of contemporary politics. In the publishing of them from week to week, regard is had to a classification according to States, going southward from the Potomac, and beginning with the two Virginias. In the issue for February 5, letters were printed from Hon. A. H. H. STUART, ex-Secretary of the Interior; Senator WITHERS, Lieut.-Gov. WALKER, and Representative JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER. In our issue for February 12, letters were printed from Senator JOHN W. JOHNSTON, Representative R. L. T. BEALE, Professor B. PURYEAR, and Governor MATHEWS, of West Virginia. On February 19th, we published letters from Senator Z. B. VANCE, Representative W. H. KITCHIN, Ex-Congressman WADDELL, Representative A. M. SCALES, and Judge W. N. H. SMITH, of North Carolina. In the succeeding number, that for February 26, we opened the discussion upon South Carolina with letters from Senator M. C. BUTLER, Representative JOHN S. RICHARDSON, Representative M. P. O'CONNOR, ex-Representative E. W. M. MACKEY and Senator WADE HAMPTON. In this issue the discussion of South Carolina is concluded with communications from Representative D. WYATT AIKEN and Judge J. B. KERSHAW.

To obtain this information, it was deemed expedient to indicate a common line of discussion, and the letter addressed to each Southerner, to which a reply was sent, was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—There is a strong desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as "the Solid South," not merely for the good it would do the South, but also for the benefit it would unquestionably do the North in obliterating a cause of sectional suggestions and harmful dividing lines. The North is sincere in this.

We here can conceive of no better way of arriving at a solution of the question than by obtaining, considering and adopting, so far as we see it to be possible, the opinion of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear. THE AMERICAN intends to do what lies in its power to promote this end by laying before its Northern readers the views of Southern men whose position and knowledge entitle them to speak. Will you not, therefore, kindly oblige THE AMERICAN and the conservative Republicans at the North by replying to the following questions?

1. Has the "Carpet-Bag" influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?
2. How far has this Carpet-Bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?
3. Have the Carpet-Baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the Carpet-Baggers?
4. Is the Carpet-Bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?
5. Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?
6. What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?
7. Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?
8. What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?
9. What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?
10. What does the South need from them?
11. What does the South expect to get from them?
12. Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?

SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Continued from our issue of February 26.)

REPRESENTATIVE D. WYATT AIKEN.

REPRESENTATIVE D. WYATT AIKEN, who sits for the Third Congressional District of South Carolina, was born in Fairfield County, South Carolina, March 17, 1838, and received an education in South Carolina,

graduating at the South Carolina College in 1849. He then taught school for two years, and in 1852 settled upon a farm. He has ever since been a farmer. He served in the Confederate army, reached the rank of colonel, and retired from active service, owing to wounds received at Antietam. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1864, and again in 1866. He was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Forty-sixth, receiving 24,638 votes against 6,348 for J. F. ENSHAW, a Republican. Mr. AIKEN has not time, he tells us on a postal card, to answer our questions on his own account, but says that his views are concisely embodied in the inaugural address of Hon. JOHNSON HAGOOD, the present Governor of the State. Mr. AIKEN considers that every question concerning Democratic rule in South Carolina is answered by the present value of South Carolina bonds. He asks us to reprint portions of Governor HAGOOD's inaugural, as answering as fully as he could do. We comply. Governor HAGOOD says:

"The honest, economic and efficient administration of the State Government, which the party revolution of 1876 promised, has been realized. The ordinary current expenses of the State Government have been reduced to one-fourth of what it was under the management of the Republican party, and have nearly reached the minimum expenditure of the period before the war. Every obligation of the State is met from the income of the fiscal year, and no deficiencies are incurred. The accounts of the State are cleared from all confusion or uncertainty, and there is laid before the representatives of the people once more, as is required by law, 'a true and accurate account of the actual state of the Treasury.'

"The revenues of the State are collected with honesty and fidelity. The mode of accounting with the subordinate tax officers provided by law is rigid, and it is impossible to cover up fraud or negligence on the part of these officers, if the accounting is properly enforced in the Comptroller's office. When the money has reached the State Treasury, its custody and disbursement are jealously hedged with stringent provisions of the law. I know of no practical safeguard that is omitted."

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

"An adjustment of the public debt has been reached by legislative provisions and by a decision of the courts. There is no floating debt. The debt funded and being funded is \$6,639,170. Of this the scrip of the Agricultural College, amounting to \$191,800, is a permanent investment; the deficiency bonds and stocks, amounting to \$564,855, mature in 1888; and the consols, amounting to \$5,882,515, mature in 1894. The whole debt bears interest at 6 per cent.

"In this connection I would very earnestly bring to the attention of the General Assembly the annual delay in the payment of interest. The interest is payable before the taxes levied to meet it are fully collected; and thus some of the public creditors are subjected to delay in receiving their dues. This can be corrected by providing an earlier day for the payment of taxes; or the Governor and Treasurer might be authorized to anticipate their collection, so far as necessary for this purpose, by a temporary loan.

The consol bonds bear upon their face the contract of the State to receive the coupons from the same in payment of taxes. During the period of adjustment of the debt, it was impracticable to do so; but now there is no reason why the coupons of the Brown consols should not be thus received. It is also advisable, as to this class of consols, that the operation of the law requiring interest to be paid in New York, as well as at the State Treasury, should be resumed; but it is not practicable to pay interest to the holders of Green consols elsewhere than at the State Treasury, until after the conversion of their securities. The suggestions made would promote the convenience of the tax-payer, and no doubt hasten the reduction of the consol bonds and stocks to a uniform character. It is also desirable, as to both consol and deficiency stocks, to adopt the plan of the United States Government with regard to its registered bonds and stocks: upon the holder furnishing the Treasury with his post-office address, the interest due is forwarded by check upon each January and July. The punctual payment of interest, and every accommodation and facility given in its collection, enhances the value of the security. Already, under the management of the State finances for the past four years, its bonds have risen in the market from twenty-eight cents on the dollar to par. The financial status of our State was once its proudest boast. If we place it upon the high plane it occupied before the late civil war, and keep it there, our securities will rank with any Governmental securities upon the market; and when the debt matures, as it soon will do, it can be refunded at a much lower rate of interest. A wise and prudent policy will keep this end steadily in view; and then, with the increased taxable values, which improved credit and returning prosperity will bring, what is now a burthen may become an inappreciable weight, to be borne or discharged with equal facility."

ELECTION LAWS.

"The third section of the Eighth Article of the Constitution of this State, adopted twelve years ago, declares that 'it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide, from time to time, for the registration of all electors.' This positive mandate of the Constitution has not yet been obeyed. It is one of the most obvious means of securing the purity of the ballot box; and the failure to provide it was justly urged in complaint against those who controlled the State Government for the eight years following the adoption of the Constitution. Amid the numerous matters claiming the attention of the General Assembly, and with the shortened sessions since that time, no registration law has been enacted. In my judgment, the discharge of this imperative duty should no longer be delayed. Indeed, in many particulars, our election laws, as they now stand, are defective, and their revision is one of the most important subjects which demand your attention.

"These happy results—this restoration of the State to the methods of good government; this hopeful industry of all classes of our people and rapid advance in prosperity, are due, under the providence of God, to the resumption of the chief control of our local affairs by that portion of our citizens in whom the capacity of self-government is an inheritance derived from a thousand years of a free ancestry. It stands in striking contrast to the wretched period of riotous misrule which preceded it under the domination of the lately enfranchised freedmen. South Carolina cannot and will not again become a prostrate State. The God-given right of self-preservation inheres in communities as well as in individuals. It is higher than law and older than constitutions; but the problem with us to-day is to preserve the life of the State within the conditions that surround us. It is true that never before in all their history have free institutions been subjected to such a strain as the Reconstruction Acts of the National Government placed upon them here; but the political equality of all men in South Carolina is now as fixed a feature in her policy as is the Blue Ridge in her geography. It can neither be suppressed nor evaded. The solution of the problem requires the

wisest thought, the gravest counsel. It seems to me that I see it in Firmness, Moderation, Justice. Let these characterize every act of legislation.

"It is my duty as Governor to take care that the laws are faithfully executed in mercy." I repeat the pledge made before my election—"that in the discharge of this high trust, I shall know neither white man nor colored man, but only citizens of South Carolina, alike amenable to her laws and entitled to their protection."

JUDGE J. B. KERSHAW.

JUDGE J. B. KERSHAW, of the South Carolina Circuit Bench, is a gentleman widely known as an earnest thinker, a liberal-minded man, and a lawyer of great ability. His career in his native State has been both honorable and creditable; and there, no less than throughout the country, have his opinions been received with respect and confidence. We regret that he is not able to discuss the questions propounded. At his request, we reprint a portion of Chief Justice CHALMERS'S article referred to by him. Judge Kershaw writes:

ABBEVILLE, S. C., February 22d, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: Your favor of the 11th instant containing the questions to which you wish me to reply, in relation to Southern affairs, came duly to-hand. For the reasons intimated in my former letter, and also because of the present pressure of official duties, I am constrained to disappoint your expectations in this regard. I regret this, because of the evident desire on your part that I should give my views of this important subject, and beg you will believe that I would gladly oblige you, if permitted to do so without unsettling purposes formed upon some deliberation, and without infringing upon the demands of other duties.

Meanwhile, permit me to ask your earnest attention to the article in the *North American Review* for March, from the pen of Chief Justice Chalmers of Mississippi, entitled "The Effects of Negro Suffrage." It contains the best analysis of the trouble which has yet appeared, and expresses the fixed conviction of the vast majority of Southern whites, both as to the evil and the remedy. An eminent writer has justly said that no representative Government can be better than the average of its constituency. The degradation of the suffrage must degrade the Government. This bitter truth is seen and felt in all our public affairs, political, social and moral. The only cure, as I believe, is that suggested by Judge Chalmers—elimination of the cause of the evil, either total or partial. As he justly says, the former cannot be expected; but the latter is practicable, and entirely consistent with true Republicanism. I have been led to say more than I had intended. Accept my thanks for your courtesies, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

J. B. KERSHAW.

The following are the extracts Judge KERSHAW desires us to print:

"The enfranchisement of so large a mass of new electors, and the instant elevation of so much ignorance and pauperism to complete equality with wealth and intelligence, was never before, in the history of the world, wrought by a single legislative act. In several of the States it put the representatives of that race who alone knew anything of public affairs, or of private virtue, in a hopeless minority, as compared with that race who had ever been barbarians, save when they were slaves, and who were destitute alike of property, education, or morality. Whatever may have been the motives of those who inaugurated the scheme,—whether they were prompted by considerations of patriotic devotion to the public good and by a sense of justice to the helpless blacks, or whether they sought the perpetuation of partisan supremacy,—it must be admitted by their most devoted adherents that they took the risk of a tremendous political experiment. Desperate, indeed, must have been the ills that afflicted the body politic to justify a treatment so heroic.

"It was madness to suppose that the body of electors could be swollen by the sudden injection into it of such an enormous mass of ignorance, pauperism and immorality without debasing the value of the franchise in popular estimation, and without breaking down, in great measure, our reverence for the ballot-box as the supreme arbiter of our disputes.

"But it is in the Southern States that the blighting effects of negro suffrage are most apparent, and yet, strange to say, it is there too that we find the greatest compensatory benefits resulting from it. In 1867 the negroes of the South were mere inhabitants, not citizens, of the States in which they dwelt. Civil rights, to a limited extent, had been conferred upon them, but in many respects they were an alien people—dwelling among but not a part of the population by which they were surrounded.

"That one-half of the people of a State should be legally deemed and treated as outcasts and pariahs, of a caste so low as to leave them virtually at the mercy of the other half, would eventually have resulted in a most deplorable state of society. If the strong arm of the Federal Government had interposed for the purpose of enforcing perfect equality of civil and legal rights, and had provided for a slow and gradual acquisition of political equality by standards of time and education and property, it might not have subserved so well the party purposes of those who were foremost in the work of reconstruction, but surely it would have wrought better and more wisely for the Republic.

"The ballot, indeed, has won for the newly enfranchised every civil and legal right, but fearful has been the price which the country has paid for it, and direful the consequences. The Reconstruction Acts manifestly if not avowedly proceeded upon the theory that the whites were unfit to rehabilitate their upturned Governments, and that this duty must be devolved upon the negroes. While the whole of the latter were suddenly enfranchised, large classes of the former, embracing the most cultured and experienced, were disfranchised, and as the ingenuity of President Johnson's legal advisers sought to limit the number of the disfranchised classes, successive acts of Congress made them yet more sweeping. While the scheme was nominally submitted to the vote of the people of the States affected by it, no election was permitted to stand that did not result in its favor, and in some of the States repeated elections were ordered until the desired result was compelled. When negro domination had by these methods been established, there ensued a scene of incompetence, profligacy and pillage, the like of which has never disgraced the annals of any English-speaking people.

"It was wealth plundered by pauperism, intelligence dominated by ignorance, America ruled by Ethiopia.

"The Northern man believes that the political solidity of the Southern whites bodes evil to the Republic. The Southern man knows that the solidity of the blacks, if allowed to grasp the reins of power, involves ills so great that any remedy is better than the disease. Happily for the country, unmistakable signs point to a disintegration of this solidity on both sides. If the whites of the South, on the one hand, are made to see and feel that a Republican administration at Washington neither means a relegation of their States to negro domination, nor exclusion of their section from the practical benefits of Government, nor an ostracism of themselves from public affairs; and if the negroes, on the other hand, can be made to believe that a Democratic administration does not threaten their enslavement or disfranchisement, this disintegration will grow daily more rapid. But then, undoubtedly, a new evil will appear, and, indeed, has already begun to appear in some sections. The deep devotion of the negro to the Republican party, and his belief that his own salvation depended upon its success, has in the past enabled thieves and scoundrels to plunder in the name of Republicanism; but it has at least had the merit of preserving the negro himself from venality in the exercise of his ballot. When elections cease in his imagination to be fraught with his liberty, and he realizes that he has no other interest in them than the rest of the community, the enormous negro vote of the South will afford a field for the arts of the demagogue and the briber such as the world has never seen. Without property or thrift, highly emotional and painfully timid, venality is as certain to follow as night follows day. They will be bought and sold, and coaxed and bullied by unscrupulous men, and led in droves to the polls, if not like "dumb-driven cattle," certainly most unlike free men who "know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain."

"That this will become the complexion of Southern politics when the races cease to be divided on the race line, is as certain as any proposition in political ethics. Even where the vote is not the subject of individual purchase, it will naturally drift, as recently illustrated in Virginia, to the side of demagoguery and of bad faith in public morals. How are Republican institutions to be preserved under such circumstances? Let us look the question fairly in the face, discarding all prejudice and laying aside all passion. What is the remedy for these evils? How is a Government to be carried on by universal suffrage where a majority of the electors are so unfit for the trust, and where the difficulty is immeasurably increased by antipathies of race and the memories of two hundred years of masterhood on one side and slavery on the other? Eventually, perhaps, by education and the healing effects of time; but this is a slow process. Two full generations will elapse, even with the most lavish expenditure of money (and nobly are the whites of the South meeting the burden of such expenditures!) before the mere book education can be made general.

"White immigration would promise ultimate relief if it could be induced; but population and capital alike shrink from contact with negro association, and from the danger of negro rule. It is quite commonly said that immigration is repelled by Southern solidity and intolerance of political dissent. That this is erroneous, and that the true reason is found in the unwillingness of white laborers to come in contact with the negro, and of capitalists to seek investments where his domination may bring confiscation, is abundantly demonstrated by the fact that Georgia attracts more capital, and Texas more immigration, than any other Southern States. Nowhere are the whites more solid, or the Democratic majorities so large. It is the assurance of continued white supremacy that permits the soil and climate of these States to exert their natural attractions.

"The men of the South must understand, once for all, that the negroes, as negroes, and because their skins are black, can never be disfranchised. Their right to vote, as a race, is as fixed and irreversible as their freedom, and the Fifteenth Amendment to the national Constitution is no more likely to be repealed than the Thirteenth.

"They must understand further, that Governments cannot live by the means which revolutions justify, any more than health can be maintained by the strong medicines sometimes necessary to preserve life. The ballot-box must speak the unbiased verdict of all the lawful electors, and that verdict must be made wise, not by force or fraud, but by such limitations of the right of suffrage as will no longer leave intelligence and virtue at the mercy of brutality and crime. Standards of education and property must be enacted which, for a time, will disfranchise many, and to the attainment of which, by the rising generation, the State and national Governments must afford every possible facility and aid. In this work the men of the North must aid and not obstruct. They must understand, once for all, that the Anglo-Saxon race will not be governed by the African, and, if they are wise, they will content themselves with aiding those who propose that the African shall be wisely, justly and fairly governed by the Anglo-Saxon. They must never forget that they themselves forced this stupendous problem on the people of the South, against all their protests and all their struggles to prevent it.

"They must hold as enemies to both sections, as fire-brands and pestilent demagogues, those who would stir the fires of sectional ill-will or race hatred in order to infuse spirit into a canvass or carry an election. They must not denounce the whole Southern people as negro-haters or bull-dozers, but know and realize that everywhere throughout the South there are thousands of earnest, thoughtful and patriotic men, who spend anxious days and sleepless nights pondering a problem that seems impossible of solution. If the South, writhing like Laocöon in the coils of the serpent, sometimes strikes out wildly, blindly, madly, in vain attempts to extricate herself, it ill becomes those who fastened the monster upon her to deride or denounce her ill-advised and frantic efforts."

(We owe an apology to Representative M. P. O'CONNOR, for having last week unintentionally omitted the "O" and called him M. P. CONNOR.)

COLUMBUS.

'Tis read of one, a ferryman of old,
St. Christopher, who on his shoulders bore,
Across the torrent to the welcome shore,
The infant Christ. The alien waters rolled
Their weltering weight tumultuous; but 'tis told
The pilot swerved not 'mid the desperate roar,
Till, landed safe his tottering burden, sore
He trembled, lost in reverence, to behold.
And thou, to me, in that prophetic dream,
Which led thee westward o'er the wandering main,
Christ-laden, to the land whereof no gleam
Had left the compass of the narrower brain,
The legendary Christopher dost seem,
Fulfilling all his destiny again.

JOHN B. TAAB.

THOUGHTS FROM THE MAGAZINES.

WHY *Lippincott's Magazine* should put itself to the cost and trouble of giving illustrations, when it is so clearly out of the competition as an illustrated magazine, is a question which its readers have trouble in answering. As a literary magazine, it fills a place quite its own. The March number contains two of the sketches for which Lippincott is famous: "Six Months in a Russian Country House" and "My China Boys." The writer of "My China Boys" is a woman of much experience with the almond-eyed lepers of whom she treats, and of much sympathy with them also. But though she likes them, it is plain she has had her own troubles with them, as for instance:

"First, 'grandma,' as we called her, came to complain that the China boy would not obey her. When I sent for Ah Choon and asked what he meant by such conduct, he said: 'You buy this house?'—'Yes,' I said.—'Old lady no buy him?'—'No.'—'Then old lady no bossee. You bossee-woman. Old lady too much sass.' Remembering the respect paid to their parents and elders by the Chinese, I reminded him of that, and asked how he would like to have 'Melican' boy treat his mother as he treated grandma. He listened to all I had to say, seeming impressed by it, repeating many times: 'Elkla klukla me. Me no sass old lady.' Shortly after he ran over to his cousin to borrow a phrase-book, in which I found that 'elkla klukla me,' means 'excuse me.'"

The concluding chapters of the serial, "Lilith," show dramatic rather than literary power. The tableau of four bigamists, all but one innocent, would make the fortune of a play, but is comparatively ineffective in a story.

The reader of *Scribner* turns first, after he has glanced at the pretty woodcuts, to that delightful sketch, "The Fair Barbarian." The manner in which the bonanza girl in this number inspires that hereditary bondsman, the conventional English girl, to strike a blow for freedom, is exquisite. The former young woman announces her theory of conduct in these candid terms:

"I have been asking Mr. Barold if he thought I was fast, and I believe he does—in fact, I am sure he does."

"Ah, my dear, my dear!" ejaculated Miss Belinda; "what a terrible thing to say to a gentleman! What will he think?"

Octavia smiled one of her calmest smiles.

"Isn't it queer how often you say that?" she remarked. "I think I should perish if I had to pull myself up that way as you do. I just go right on, and never worry. I don't mean to do anything queer, and I don't see why any one should think I do."

The writer of a lively paper on "Striped Bass" strikes at least one responsive chord in the breast of every fisherman. Forty-seven solid pounds is the heaviest bass that has ever fallen to the lot of the writer, and it has been the subject of the most poignant regret, not to say remorse, that he was allowed to weigh so little, when a few old sinkers thrust into his gullet would have brought his record up to the even half hundred.

Theodore Thomas's paper on "Musical Possibilities in America" is, naturally, musicianly rather than literary, and though of course it shows knowledge and conviction, it says few striking things. This is as noticeable a remark as any:

"The voices of American women, although inclined to be sharp and nasal in speaking, are good in singing. Their small volume reveals the lack of proper training, but they are good in quality, extended in compass, and brilliant in color. The men's voices do not compare favorably with those of the women. They lack strength and character, and a well-balanced chorus is hardly possible as yet without a mixture of English or German voices to give body to the tone."

Bishop Coxe makes some vigorous observations, in the *North American Review*, on the Bible in the schools. His starting point is that Christianity is part of the common law and of American civilization. To be sure, the Constitution says nothing expressly about it, but "the same instrument says nothing about the English language, but it is written in that language. It is so in all creation; what is inwrought need not be labelled."

"When the Hindoos become as numerous in California as the Chinese are already, they will doubtless set up a grievance with respect to common schools, for which they pay taxes, unless the microscope is banished from such schools. 'We cannot send our children to be instructed in the use of such cursed instruments,'—such will be their plea—'because we are taught that it is wicked to feed upon animal life; and this mischievous invention of the enemies of our holy faith leads our children to suppose that they cannot drink water, or eat a fig, without losing their caste and becoming reformed Hindoos, or not Hindoos at all,—its optical perversion being such as to force them to infer that water is alive with all manner of eels and fishes, and that figs are full of little goats and camels.' How should we answer the Hindoos? For aught we see, the answer we should give then is precisely the answer which we must return to all those who insist that we should turn the Bible out of our common schools."

The villain in Mr. Hardy's new novel appears on the scene in the March number of *Harper's*, signaling his entrance by intercepting a pocketful of letters; and he promises to become a very interesting and ill-conducted person, indeed. Mr. Lathrop's paper on Washington considers fairly all the social aspects of the Capitol; and though Mr. Lathrop himself protests against the remark of a gentleman of great attainments, who may be called a connoisseur in social phrases, the connoisseur's summing up will be accepted by most of Mr. Lathrop's readers:

"I don't like Washington society," said he, flatly. "I must confess I prefer people who speak one's own language. Here it is a mixture of dialects. Besides, everything

changes. Some of the best people I knew a few years ago are gone now; they were not re-elected. In New York, elections make no difference. On the whole, life here is like that of some petty European capital without the court; and you feel the strain and jar of the political machine all the while. . . . You don't have a good time. At a dinner here you meet ten men, any one of whom would be made the sole centre of a dinner in any other principal city; but somehow I don't like it."

Miss Oakey's "Talk on Dress" is the application to the subject of real art, not of sham art, and is refreshing as being written neither from the milliner's nor from the bric-a-brac dealer's point of view. "Beauty in dress," she says, "as in other things, is largely relative. To admit this is to admit that a dress which is beautiful upon one woman may be hideous, worn by another. Each should understand her own style, accept it, and let the fashion of her dress be built upon it." Her essay is a carrying of this principle into every detail of costume, both of form and color.

The old meaning in common speech of a "Solid South," is thus vigorously defined by Edward Atkinson in the *International Review*:

"Geographically, it included all the States south of the parallel of 36° 30', or what is known as Mason and Dixon's line, and east of the Rocky Mountains, together with the State of Missouri. Industrially, it included cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco, produced by methods of agriculture which were, with very limited but conspicuous exceptions, examples of all that was wasteful and improvident; and it included manufacturing and mechanic arts developed only in a most limited degree. Mentally, it expressed a habit of intolerance in thought promoting violence in action, the latter leading to the frequent crime of homicide and the folly of the duel. It mistook for what is called chivalry that brute courage which has no respect for human life, and it substituted a jealousy of the independent thought and action of other men for a sentiment of honor, of the true nature of which sentiment it had no conception. Morally, it descended to a depth of baseness which to-day is hard to be conceived. It permitted the chasing of men with blood-hounds, the flogging of naked women before the eyes of men and boys, the breeding of human live-stock, and the sale even of the very children of those who engaged in the nefarious traffic. Politically, the term 'Solid South' included only the Bourbon idea of the section which it covered geographically. This Bourbon idea was that all men are *not* born free, but are born unequal in their rights, and that it was the function of the privileged few to govern the incapable many. It included those men who, though residing in Northern States, were foreign to them, and who, as 'doughfaces' and 'copperheads,' did the dirty work of their Southern masters; the same class who, of late years, by taking advantage of the popular meaning of the word 'democrat,' and perverting it to base purposes, have misled the masses of the ignorant and unthinking voters, to the great danger of the country and to the misgovernment of the great cities which they infest."

Henry C. Adams, in the same review, sets his readers to pondering upon the debts of the world, and the great totals that he introduces produce the same undefined, bewildering feeling of values as Professor Proctor's charming essays on the heavens, wherein billions and trillions become as common as roses in June. Indeed, when a billion is reached, the mind loses the power of realization; it seems an endless succession of cyphers, starting from a distance that is itself a cypher and continuing on into a distance that is formed of nothing but cyphers. The French people are required to pay interest upon a capital sum of \$3,800,000,000; the debt of Spain amounts to \$2,800,000,000; that of our own country to \$2,349,000,000; that of Italy to \$2,000,000,000, while Russia and Austria are debtors in sums of equal magnitude. The debts of the world in 1714 amounted to \$1,500,000,000; in 1848 to \$8,650,000,000; in 1870 \$19,550,000,000, and last year they reached the suggestive total of \$24,500,000,000!

Dr. William Hammond relates in this magazine a genuine faith cure. A woman of about thirty years had for over eight months suffered from a very distressing spasmodic affection of certain muscles of the neck, by which her head was strongly rotated to one side, so that she was constantly in the position of one trying to look over the shoulder. Not only was the position uncomfortable, but it was attended with considerable pain, and she was therefore kept in a continued excited and "nervous" condition. When Dr. Hammond saw her, she had already been treated with those means which are most efficacious in the disease in question, and he was consulted mainly for the purpose of getting his opinion in relation to the propriety of relieving the contraction by a surgical operation. One morning, the patient, who was a devout Roman Catholic, expressed her great regret at being unable to go to Lourdes, or to obtain any of the water from the grotto, for she was firmly convinced that if she could be subjected to the influence of this holy liquid, her cure would be at once effected. On this Dr. Hammond determined to try the faith cure. He told his patient that he had some of the water of Lourdes, and another water which had produced marvellous results, and which in his opinion was preferable to the other. This last was called *Aqua Crotonis*. Both were at her service; but she was strongly advised to try the *Aqua Crotonis* instead of the water of Lourdes. She evinced the greatest joy, and begged hard for the water of Lourdes, but consented to try the Croton water first. The genuine Lourdes water, which had been brought by a priest from the shrine, was given her, labelled "*Aqua Crotonis*." This was rubbed upon the affected part vigorously for two days, with no result. Croton water was then given her, labelled "Water of Lourdes, Feast of the Annunciation, 1879." The patient received it about eleven A. M. At half-past one she rushed into the consulting room, exclaiming, "I am cured! I am cured! See what the Holy Virgin has done for me!" And she *was* cured. The contracted muscles were relaxed, and she could turn her head as well as ever before.

LITERATURE.

THE HISTORY OF GREEK SCULPTURE.

HE would be an unreasonable critic that would quarrel with anything in the book before us ("A History of Greek Sculpture," by A. S. Murray), except possibly the binding. A more fascinating subject it would be difficult to find, and it has been allotted in this instance to an author in every way competent to deal with it. Mr. Murray, who is one of the staff of the British Museum, where he is attached to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, joins to sound taste and genial appreciation an immense capacity for patient labor and a conscientiousness beyond praise, as any one will admit who will take the trouble to glance at the multitudinous notes and references, and if he has any hobby-horses of his own, does not ride them in the reader's view. Where there are doubts or differences of opinion, nothing could be more studiously just than his statements, and when he comes to a conclusion on such a point, it is only after so careful an examination that the reader does not hesitate to share it with him. From a mechanical point of view—always barring the commonplace binding—the book is an admirable performance, with its excellent typography, fair margins, stout paper and finely executed engravings, and altogether the "History of Greek Sculpture" is entitled to rank among the most enjoyable volumes of the season.

When handicraft and art exist side by side, says Mr. Murray, the difference between them is obvious and essential; but when, as in the early history of Greece, only handicraft is to be seen in the course of its development, there is a strong temptation to inquire whether and how far it may have led up to the origin of fine art. The earliest form assumed by the decorative instinct, setting aside the mere selection of rare and costly materials, is a simple pattern of parallel lines, whence men advance to complicated schemes of geometric lines, to figures of flowers, of animals, and finally of men. This, at least, is its course so long as it proceeds in constant subordination to handicraft; against wayward artistic experiments and schemes of ornaments out of their proper place in the natural development suggested by foreign intercourse, the handicraftsman was compelled to hold himself in check,—he was bound to keep always in view the necessities of his special occupation. To the fixity of their leading principles, the severity with which a successful result once obtained was handed on, and to the fact that no beginner could give way to mere fancy till he had first become entirely acquainted with all that had been done by predecessors in his own special field, may be attributed the singular uniformity which characterizes Greek decorations as compared with the freedom and mobility of design in modern times. A considerable degree of technical skill, not as yet concentrated in the hands of professional classes, existed among the Greeks of the Homeric age, though it was to Phœnicia that they turned when they desired articles of the highest order. Though they had acquired through the Phœnicians much practical knowledge of Assyrian and Egyptian artistic procedure, the Greeks did not obtain from Assyria and Egypt a vital artistic impulse; "it was not till afterwards, when they had slowly eliminated everything fabulous and unreasonable in the designs set before them by other nations, that their own true gifts of art came into full play." In a remarkable chapter on the shield of Achilles (which Messrs. Murray and Rylands have "restored" with an infinity of pains—thus, to obtain one group of seven figures, four antique compositions were laid under contribution), Mr. Murray notes as evidence that Homer's mind was working on some ancient legend from an inland country in the East, the fact that no place is given to ships in the view of human affairs, nor is there any place assigned to Greek sacrificial and religious ceremonies—a suggestion offered by Mr. Gladstone. Between the shield as described in Homer and the oldest historical work of art in Greece, the chest of Kypselos, a change has intervened that cannot well be explained if the shield be regarded as essentially Greek in its composition. In one respect there is no change—the figures are distributed in long bands, concentric on the shield, parallel on the chest; but on the latter the numerous subjects that are figured are drawn from legend and mythology, and their names are written down to convey explicit information, while on the shield we know none of the figures and have no interest except in the action. The change, however, in the direction of a definite conception of persons and incidents does not necessarily imply as well an advance in artistic conception and design; indeed, the want of association among the individual groups, as they are given by Pausanias, suggests an unfavorable conclusion as to the degree of skill attained in the execution of the figures. In the lions above the gateway of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, though the attitude is Assyrian, there is a bold spirit in the execution, suggestive of the dawn of an individual faculty for art in Greece itself. "From construction in stone, with more or less of ornament, either executed upon it or by means of bronze plating," says Mr. Murray, "the first transition to sculpture proper with which a definite personality is connected, is that ascribed to Dædalos." He had not received much instruction from his predecessors, who had not got beyond figures with the legs close together, the arms pressed firmly to the sides, and the eyes devoid of the light of life, in all of which respects Dædalos worked changes, though even then the artistic effect must have been but small, since the sculptors of Plato's time regarded it as laughable, compared with the work of their own day.

Within the limits of a brief notice, it is not possible to do justice to an author's style or argument, and we have to pass over, with a mere indication to the reader of their special excellence, such chapters as those devoted to the sculptures from the pediments of the temple of Athena in Ægina, secured for Munich in 1812, almost by accident, and to the intense and natural vexation of the English nation, to archaic sculptures—the metopes of Selinus, etc., and to Myron and the sculptures of his school. Especially interesting, too, is the concluding chapter on the sculptures of Northern Greece. The recovery of the sculptures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, says the author, has shown with startling effect how contemporary artists might differ in peculiarities of style;

but he justly observes the wonder rather is that the differences are not greater, since Olympia was a centre of rivalry, and in this particular interest there was a competition resulting in favor of Pæonius. The subject is introduced by Mr. Murray because of the recent theory which traces to Athenian sculpture, in the period immediately before Pheidias, "a marked influence from pictorial practice and traditions assumed to have been brought to Athens by the painter Polygnotus, which practice and traditions, it is argued, had been learned by him in his native land of Thasos, and had been in his time the common property also of artists in the adjoining mainland of Northern Greece, whence came Pæonius. This pictorial element, unknown in the older Athenian sculptures, becomes conspicuous in works of the time of Pheidias. Equally conspicuous is it in the 'Nike' and other sculptures of Pæonius, but with this difference, that they represent an older and entirely independent phase of this special artistic development. Thus it appears that in Northern Greece is to be sought some, at least, of those seeds of art which, to the astonishment of posterity, reached their brightest bloom in Athens and Olympia." To this theory, the author comments, there would have been less objection had greater emphasis been laid, when explaining it, on the relations between the coins and sculptures of Northern Greece and the early artistic remains of Asia Minor. In the early times, when there was abundant intercourse between those districts, it was in Asia Minor that art was at its highest; the repainting was developed, and there the resources of metal for artistic purposes were discovered. Though there may have been in Northern Greece no inclination for the display of color, metal-working was "the daily bread of the people," so that there is no natural impediment to the view that the early art of that district of Greece was but an extension of the art of Asia Minor. Mr. Murray examines the existing remains of Northern Greek sculpture, and notably the marble relief from the Thasos monument in the Louvre, of which he justly says that the female figure crowning Apollo may be selected as in reality one of the most beautiful motives in Greek sculpture, and comes to this conclusion:

"It is in the nature of things that in early art, sculpture in relief and painting should largely present the same effects. Artists in both kinds began with a plain flat surface, and in carrying out their designs they necessarily utilized this flat surface as far as was allowable. For example, in the treatment of drapery they preserved as much of it as they dared, and endeavored to hide the unreality of the proceeding by exquisite schemes of folds. For sculptors in the round no such temptation existed—they worked into their material, not along its surface; and when they had sufficiently advanced their art, it was necessary for sculptors in relief to abandon their former habits, and to regulate the flat surface on which they began to the mere background of their work. Thus it happens that when there is nothing but reliefs to judge by, it is extremely hazardous to found on them a theory of a local school of sculpture, and this is the case with the theory of a school of Northern Greece. More can hardly be said than that the sculptures from that region exhibit a strong pictorial influence which they share in common with those of Asia Minor, and that this effect was probably due to the more cultivated practice of painting than of sculpture at the time in Asia Minor, as compared with the preponderance of sculpture over painting in Greece itself during the same period."

We would fain have selected some passages from the introductory chapter, "The Theory of Art," one of the most admirable pieces of work of the kind that we have read for a long time, but the difficulty was what to leave out. Mr. Murray's history, it should be added, only comes down to the age of Pheidias. The fact that the reader then finds himself on comparatively familiar ground, will not prevent him from cherishing a wish that Mr. Murray might be induced to give us a companion to the delightful book just issued. (London: John Murray. New York: Scribner & Welford.)

THE ENGLISH POETS.—When it is said of an anthology of English poetry that it comes from the presses of the Macmillans, that its editor is Mr. Thomas Humphry Ward, a born editor, in the best sense of the word, and that among his co-laborers are Matthew Arnold, Professor Nichol, Dean Stanley, Dean Church, Mr. Lang, George Saintsbury, Edmund W. Gosse, Mark Pattison, Goldwin Smith, Swinburne, Lord Houghton, Austin Dobson, Sir Henry Taylor, J. A. Symonds, and a dozen other eminent writers, it is said that the work is as nearly perfect as such a work may be. This favorable verdict will, we feel sure, be passed upon the "English Poets" ("The English Poets; Selections, with Critical Introductions." Edited by Thomas Humphry Ward,) by the appreciative reader, now that the two concluding volumes have been given to the world. Some defects undoubtedly there are in the work. It would not be possible to have it otherwise, especially when it is remembered how high the standard was placed at the outset. But after the most serious allowance has been made, this work must be declared, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the best of its kind,—so good, indeed, that the labor will not have to be done over again, though, of course, in future years, additions will naturally be made to it. It is not likely that the future will seek to reverse the judgment of the present time upon the poetry of the Elizabethan age or the classical period, and it would be difficult to array a body of critics as competent as those enlisted by Mr. Ward. Indeed, the four volumes lying before us are singularly valuable as attesting the high level of modern critical accomplishment; nor are the indications of the influence of the study of foreign literature less interesting, though it may be responsible for an occasional conceit. While each writer has done justice to his subject, and has had room to display his originality, the general harmony of treatment and judicious allotment of space speak volumes for the editor's tact and taste, and with hardly an exception each contributor has done his work with a wholesome sense of the responsibility resting upon him as a member of a literary tribunal of final resort. The erratic and impulsive Mr. Swinburne, for instance, is hardly just at times, when dealing with Collins,—his estimate of whom and Gray, by the way, is curiously different from that of Matthew Arnold. "Even in his own age," says Swinburne, "it was the fatally foolish and uncritical fashion to couple the name of Collins with that of Gray, as though they were poets of the same order or kind. As an elegiac poet, Gray holds,

for all time to come, his unassailable and sovereign station; as a lyric poet, he is simply unworthy to sit at the feet of Collins." "Gray himself," says Arnold, in the very next essay, "maintained that the 'Elegy' was not his best work in poetry, and he was right. High as is the praise due to the 'Elegy,' it is yet true that in other productions of Gray he exhibits poetical qualities even higher than those exhibited in the 'Elegy.' Gray's production was scanty, and scanty it could not but be. Even what he produced is not always pure in diction, true in evolution. Still, with whatever drawbacks, he is alone, or almost alone (for Collins has something of the like merit,) in his age." The introduction by Matthew Arnold, we may say, is one of the happiest pieces of work in the whole four volumes. We prefer it vastly to his essay on Keats, which, exquisite as is its literary workmanship, is marred by at least one serious error of taste.

With some of the omissions, rather than with any of the selections, we are inclined to quarrel. Why Shenstone's familiar and characteristic lines written "On a Window of an Inn" are left out, or Thomson's on the hunted stag, one cannot very well understand, any more than it can be seen why from "Rokeby," only "Edmund's Song" should have been taken (—was it because Professor Goldwin Smith remembered that of the shorter and more beautiful lyric, one verse was a fragment of an old Scottish song?—) or why Mr. Arnold, when—most judiciously—resorting to Gray's letters, omits the fine description of the sunrise over Morecambe Sands. Sir Henry Taylor, too, it may be thought, rather overrates Southey, though there is no one who will not agree with him in his estimate that the laureate, much-derided of Byron, was, of all his contemporaries, "the greatest man." Mr. Gosse passes a sound judgment upon Moore, recalling the undeserved laudation with which he was hailed in his day and the equally undeserved contempt with which it is the fashion now to treat his poetry. It is, we believe, one of the traditions of Printing House Square that the obituary notice of Moore, as originally written towards 1830, covered some two pages of the *Times*, and was extravagant in its praise and regret, but that as it was re-written from time to time during the next quarter of a century, it gradually became shorter and less eulogistic, till, when the occasion came for its use, it was comparatively brief and exceedingly moderate. Though Keats and Tennyson, with their richer and more artistic growth of verse, have eclipsed the author of "Lalla Rookh," Mr. Gosse is fully justified in declaring that the fifteen or sixteen "Irish Melodies" which have survived the test of time form an imperishable pedestal upon which Moore rests secure to all time.

One of the articles with which from every point of view we have been most pleased, is Dean Stanley's upon the Wesleys' and sacred poetry in general. (We notice the inevitable misquotation of the familiar passage concerning the ballads of a nation and its laws. Fletcher of Saltoun did not say, "Give others the making of a nation's laws, if only you give to me the making of a nation's ballads;" but he wrote that he knew "a very wise man that believed that, if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of the nation.") Three reasons are given why sacred poetry is necessarily a comparative failure: First, because the moment that it is made a vehicle of theological argument it becomes essentially prosaic, almost as much so as if it were employed for arguments on political or philosophical problems; secondly, because the very greatness of the words, which, either from Biblical or ecclesiastical usage, have been consecrated to the sublime thoughts of religion, misleads the writer into the belief that they are of themselves sufficient to carry on the poetic affatus; finally, because of the temptation which Biblical metaphors have afforded of pursuing into detail, and especially into anatomical detail, expressions derived from the physical structure of the human frame. Further, "the general interest in theology, and the yet more general interest in religious feeling, have enlisted in the service of theology, both in prose and poetry, a larger number of inferior writers than will be found either in philosophy, or history, or science. * * * Whilst the Mediæval Church produced only one, or possibly two, great poets, there was no restraint on the number of common-place minds who thought themselves competent to attempt those monastic doggerel rhymes which fill the larger part of the mediæval hymnology. So also has it been in the Protestant Churches. Men who had hardly a particle of poetic fire in their souls have not scrupled to produce any number of hymns or psalms on these permitted themes." Among these, says Dean Stanley, John Wesley is conspicuous, but he records the appreciation of grandeur which led the prosaic founder of Methodism to adopt and adapt from George Herbert and Gambold, and the poetic fervor and scholar-like finish of Charles Wesley, who not unfrequently rose into true and lasting poetry. The inherent defects to which Dean Stanley makes allusion are lamentably noticeable in modern American hymnody, where authors begin with the assumption that Calvary was a lofty eminence, and endow sheepfolds with "gates of gold."

Another very excellent essay is that upon Wordsworth, by Dean Church—perhaps one of the most delicate and satisfactory in the whole compass of the work, not excepting that upon Byron, by Mr. Symonds. "Wordsworth," says the Dean of St. Paul's, "was, first and foremost, a philosophical thinker, a man whose intention and purpose of life it was to think out for himself, faithfully and seriously, the questions concerning 'Man and Nature and Human Life.' He tried to animate and invest with imaginative light the convictions of religious, practical, homely, but high-hearted England, as Goethe thought out in his poetry the speculations and sceptical mood of inquisitive and critical Germany. He was a poet, because the poetical gift and faculty had been so bestowed on him that he could not fail, in one way or another, to exercise it; but in deliberate purpose and plan he was a poet, because poetry offered him the richest, the most varied, and the completest method of reaching truth in the matters which interested him, and of expressing and recommending its lessons, of 'making them dwellers in the hearts of men.'" With much justice and fairness, are the poet's poetry and his idea of the office of poetry traced to the French Revolution. Transient as was Wordsworth's unreserved and absorbing interest in its ideas and events, before he turned from it in permanent and strong disgust, it had "the effect upon him which great interrup-

tions of the common course of things and life have on powerful natures. * * * But for that, he might have been, and doubtless would have been, the poet of nature, a follower, but with richer gifts, of Thomson, Akenside, perhaps Cowper. It was the trial and struggle which he went through, amid the hopes and overthrows of the French Revolution, which annealed his mind to its highest temper, which gave largeness to his sympathies and reality and power to his ideas." And no one—especially since the confession involved in the publication of Arnold's selections,—will impugn the accuracy of Dean Church's dictum that Wordsworth is destined, if any poet is, to be immortal; but immortality does not necessarily mean popularity. Nor will any true lover of the poet who has left so deep an impress upon the literature of England, find fault with one word of the extended, incisive and just analysis and estimate of his work and character contained in this rather admirable essay.

We should like to record our appreciation of the satisfactory manner in which Mr. Symonds has discharged the delicate and risky task at this time of passing judgment upon Byron, and to mention still other pieces of work of exceptional value. But the limits of our notice have been reached, and we must dismiss this work with the single comment that it is one for which the English-speaking world has long waited, which could not have been written at an earlier period in our literary history, and which in future times will be added to and continued, but never superseded. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)

TRUE CHARITY.—In England, the question of the right management of property given for charitable or other public uses has grown to be one of great importance. The latest contribution to the plentiful literature of the subject is an essay by Mr. Kenny of Lincoln's Inn, on endowed charities. ("The True Principles of Legislation with regard to Property given for Charitable or other Public Uses," being an essay which obtained the Yorke Prize of the University of Cambridge, by Courtney Stanhope Kenny, LL. M., of Lincoln's Inn. Fellow and Law Lecturer of Downing College, Cambridge.) The text from which he speaks is pithy, and holds good here, too. "The true way of giving relief is by helping the poor to help themselves, by endeavoring to give them health and strength of body, intelligence and cultivation of mind, and habits of thrift, foresight and self-respect." In the nature of things, we are as yet free from such mischief as Doles, of which Mr. Kenny gives plentiful instances, as at Bedford, where a charity was founded in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and endowed with £40 a year, which, in 1853, had risen to £12,000 a year, and steadily figures in the Report of the Charity Commissioner, from the first in 1854 to the thirty-second, as a source of unnumbered mischief to the whole community. The income from endowments distributable amongst the poor of England and donations in small gifts of money or kind, amounts, to over a million and a half of dollars, independently of two millions and a half spent in almshouses and pensions derived from private gifts. Recent legislation has transferred some of these funds from purposes of pauperization to those of education, but even this modification has been accompanied with an earnest protest against indiscriminate gratuitous instruction, especially when it is accomplished at the public expense or on private charity, and where it relieves a father altogether of the duty of maintaining his child, as a serious moral loss to the latter, and a weakening of duty on the part of the former. In England two hundred and fifty thousand dollars are still annually expended in premiums for apprentices from charities, specially bequeathed for that purpose; yet the practice of going through apprenticeship has almost ceased to exist in the greatest seats of industry, now that the introduction of machinery has simplified so many processes, and the minute subdivision of labor has made each individual's share of his craft too small to take long to learn. Even in trades where apprentices are still taken, premiums are no longer needed. The custom by which apprentices lived in their master's family has died out in the more luxurious and more exclusive social life of the present century, and they are no longer a necessary source of outlay to him. A master will readily take a well educated apprentice without any premium at all, and will not take one that has been badly trained at any price. The great common sense of Franklin failed him when he bequeathed money to provide loans, and his fund has shared the fate of other and larger endowments intended for the same end,—so advantageous on its face, so useless in practical working. So, too, of homes for old people; it is found that the same sum paid as a pension to the same persons at their own homes goes much farther and does more real good. The story of the mortmain act, which was intended to restrict the accumulation of property in the hands of charities, as told by Mr. Kenny, shows that the temporary unpopularity of one kind of charity, rather than any real question of principle, led to the enactment of a law which has had its pendant in every State of the Union. Here in Pennsylvania the act which prevented any charitable devise or bequest from taking effect, unless made more than one month before the death of testator, grew out of hostility to one religious creed, yet the first case under it cut off from the enjoyment of a handsome estate the school established by that community whose chief members had been active in securing the passage of our mortmain act. The experience of both countries, the old world and the new, goes far to satisfy lawmakers that it is better to make legislation for general good and not to meet temporary prejudices or exigencies.

The example of the enormous growth of the value of lands bequeathed to charitable use in England may well incite our own institutions to prefer land to money for endowments. A devise of £21 a year, in 1552, produced, in 1873, £14,000 a year, and the future value of the land recently settled upon some of our existing institutions may equal even this enormous increase. Here, too, it may yet be necessary to provide for the inspection of all charities, and for the conversion of those that, by the lapse of time, are become useless, into some active, working good. It took even as energetic a man as Lord Brougham twenty years to carry out an effective inquiry into the condition of existing charities, and the results fully compensated for the time and money and

labor thus spent in investigating the twenty odd thousand charities, with an aggregate income of six millions of dollars. In 1876, this great effort culminated in a general digest of endowed charities, showing a total income of over ten millions of dollars, distributed in charities in twelve thousand of the fifteen thousand English parishes, and that outside of this there are the universities and their colleges, Eton and Winchester, the Cathedrals, Friendly and Benefit Societies, and institutions wholly maintained by voluntary contributions; and then there is the prospective increase in the value of the land let on long leases. A constant supervision of endowments should be followed by the creation of a tribunal which shall have the power of correcting abuses and finding new purposes for obsolete charities. Not the least useful employment is that of supervising the actual working of existing charities and the adoption of regulations that will correct the evils of too many managers and too little actual government. The practical working of a local board is at hand in the City Trusts, where a body of able men utilize all the gifts and bequests entrusted to the city for charitable purposes most efficiently. A curious warning of the possible dangers of our greatest charity may be found in the examples cited by Mr. Kenny, of boys made wretched by a training that unfitted them for association with their own families,—resulting in one case in the suicide of a Christ's Hospital boy, and, in the experience of Heriot's Hospital, a great Edinburgh foundation, of the discontent of the boys on their return home, where food and clothing are not what they were used to; and insubordination produces real domestic misery. Christ's Hospital, with eleven hundred boys, is an example both of good and bad results in extending so largely its work of education; and the same supervision that the State exercises over it may yet be invoked in the management of our own great college. With every century of our history, there will be more and more need of a revision of some or other of our existing charities, and the drastic changes made in England by recent legislation have only partially rescued from disuse or abuse funds meant for purposes good in their day and generation, but in the lapse of years become either obsolete or of questionable utility. It is not a little painful to contrast the condition of Columbia College, in New York, with its great income, and its still greater prospective gains from its lands, and that of our own University, with its growing debt, and to remember that at the outset, they were started with about the same endowment, of which the investments made for Columbia College in land in the city of New York are to-day of enormous value, while those of our own University were largely in wild land, utterly worthless, and likely to remain so; and all this could have been prevented by a system of State supervision, not in an officious and offensive way, but by a simple requirement of an annual return to the State of income and expenses, of investments and requirements, and of such practical, business-like management as is now given by the Board of Trustees.

The excess of State aid to charities led to the thoroughgoing restrictions of the new Constitution, and by a short method results were obtained that in England have been matters of serious discussion for many years. Even the remission of taxation has been the subject of one of Mr. Gladstone's most elaborate speeches, and the arguments with which he enforces his views, distasteful as they may be to those who like to indulge in charity at the expense of the State, are too cogent to be easily answered. He contended that it is against public policy to encourage charities at all by any positive pecuniary preference, for all property should contribute equally to the State, which protects all equally, and any exemption of the poor who are supported by charity is unjust to the poor who labor. Then, endowed charities are mainly rich and irresponsible, while unendowed charities are poor, and are supervised by the subscribers. Then, too, an exemption from taxation is practically a grant of money, not in proportion to the extent and utility of the work done by the charity, but only on the basis of its land and buildings, and the costlier these are, the greater the relief, although presumably by the amount thus spent, just so much less is left for the real object of the charity, whatever its field of work. Mr. Gladstone was unsuccessful in his contention in Parliament, and it is not likely that his views will receive much consideration here, where local influences are quite as powerful as in England. Mr. Kenny sums up the beneficial effect of recent legislation on the management of charities, by showing that their funds are invested in a special office, to the amount of nearly fifty millions of dollars, divided into nearly ten thousand separate accounts, managed at a cost of ten thousand dollars a year, and this is in strong contrast to the varying degrees of expensiveness with which charity funds are managed here.

The remedies that are suggested for England might be applied with suitable modifications to our lesser requirements; for example, supervision by a board, not trammelled as is the existing Board of State Charities, with power to test the results of the work done by the institutions under their care, and to make the State grant proportioned to the education and other training tested by actual examination. This can, however, hardly be hoped for in a city where the public schools want that first requisite of efficient test of their results,—thorough inspection and supervision by competent and impartial visitors and other suitable officers. Even the large number of persons voluntarily engaging in the care and management of existing charities, in the broadest sense, from that of the university down to the humblest home for unfortunate people of any class, ought to have the benefit of a closer connection with the State by a system of inspection that would enable them and the public to compare the work done in each and all of the institutions of the State. One result would be such a federation as might, in time, make the University of Pennsylvania in fact, what its name now implies,—the head of all the educational establishments of the State, to which all the colleges and high schools of the State should be tributary, and from which, in time, they might draw teachers. The system would, undoubtedly, result in an immense saving of money now spent in small sums in various unprofitable experiments, by gathering together the best teachers and the best students, while the local schools would do much more efficient work in raising the standard of their district. The example of such a reunion in one

direction, might well lead to a further and even more beneficent extension in other lines. (William Reeves, London, 1880. 8vo. Pp. 280.)

DESCARTES.—The first volume of the series entitled "Philosophical Classics for English Readers" consists of a clear and compact account of Descartes and his system, by J. P. Mahaffy, of the Dublin University. The series is edited by Wm. Knight, LL.D., of St. Andrew's University, and its object will be "to unfold the history of modern philosophy, under the light cast upon it by the chief system-builders. In each work it will be the aim of the writers to translate the discussion out of the dialect of the schools, which is often too technical, and which presupposes the knowledge of a special vocabulary, into the language of ordinary life." Professor Mahaffy limits himself, in this little volume, to an account of Descartes' life and an estimate of his writings. His materials are drawn, he says, directly from the works of the philosopher; whereas, other biographers have contented themselves with copying and abridging the elaborate *Vie de M. Descartes*, by Baillet. And, in truth, the biographical portion of the volume (which is three-fourths of the whole,) is worked out with a clearness and thoroughness such as we do not remember to have noticed in any other account of Descartes in English. It is these minute personal details which will cause the volume to be eagerly read, even by professional students of philosophy. Descartes' life is the most romantic episode in the history of scientific thought; and the extreme scarcity of material (epistolary or autobiographical,) throwing light upon the inner workings of the philosopher's mind, make such conscientious studies as those of Baillet and Professor Mahaffy very valuable and fascinating. The curious and cowardly subtleties, and panics, and hypocritical conformities, the egotism and personal eccentricities of Descartes, are thrown into prominent relief in the volume of Professor Mahaffy. The chief fault that is to be found with the book is that the author gives only a subordinate place at the end of the book to the very heart of his subject, *i. e.*, the exposition of the central philosophical doctrines of Descartes; and when he does get at this part of his task, he is by no means so luminous and concentrated in his exposition as he ought to have been. We miss a *resumé* at the end of the book.

In an appendix, Mr. Frederick Purser, a mathematical colleague of the author, gives a statement of Descartes' position in the history of science. The type, paper, portrait of Descartes, and binding of the volume, are all handsome and in every respect commendable. (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia; Wm. Blackwood & Son, Edinburgh; 1881; pp. 211.)

"BETRAYED; A NORTHERN TALE," and "THE BRIDE OF GETTYSBURG, AN EPIISODE OF 1863," form the titles of two bulky volumes of verse, by J. D. Hylton. (Published by the author, at Palmyra, N. J., 1878; pp. 172 and 288.)

WE have received from Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., of Boston, the January numbers of the English *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*, of which they will hereafter issue an American edition, not a reprint, but printed from the same plates as the British editions. The covers of these American numbers are quite handsome, the paper having a soft, thick and flexible character, which is agreeable to the touch. We think the publishers will be justified in their enterprise. There is a certain sumptuousness of paper and typography about the English quarterlies which is entirely missing in the cheap reprints. The *Quarterly Review* is unusually interesting. The brilliant success of the popular magazines has really served to lighten and brighten in a measure the tone of these chunky old quarterlies; there can be no mistake about it. The most entertaining articles in the *Quarterly* are those on "Employment of Women;" "McCarthy's History of Our Own Time;" "Lord Beaconsfield's Endymion;" "Protection of English Birds;" and "California Scenery and Society." The author of the last article gives us a hint toward the solution of our Chinese question. He says: "To us it appears that * * * in protectionist America, the most straightforward course would be to induce Congress to place such heavy restrictions on all imports of food and clothing from China as would crush the power of the monopolies, and force the Chinese to consume Californian produce; and, secondly, to get the State Legislature to pay attention to the improvement of the Chinese quarters in each and every town; to make remissness in sanitary matters the subject of a penalty; and, generally, to adopt every course which would place upon a higher footing a naturally industrious and a useful people."

The article upon "Endymion" is more epigrammatic and brilliant than the one in the *Edinburgh Review*. Mr. McCarthy's reviewer finds the "History of Our Own Times" more brilliant than trustworthy; thinks it too fragmentary and partisan in tone. The paper upon "Employment of Women" takes Europe for its field, and presents a very good *coup d'œil* of the question. The writer of the article regrets to learn that shortly nominations to the clerkships in the Post-Office Savings Banks will be thrown open to indiscriminate competition. Heretofore, the original idea of Sir John Tilley has been adhered to, *i. e.*, that these offices should be filled by gentlemen of limited means, daughters of officers in the army and navy, of civil officers of the crown, of those engaged in the clerical, legal, medical, literary and artistic professions. Not the least interesting portion of the article is that describing the revival of curious and beautiful forms of art-needlework.

In the *Edinburgh* we have a weighty and critical article in the "Memoirs of Prince Metternich;" a review of the "War Ships and Navies of the World," by J. W. King, Chief Engineer of the United States Navy (in which Mr. King receives the credit of having written the best book in the world on the subject); a heavy article on Jacob Van Arteveldt; articles on "Endymion," "Caird's Philosophy of Religion," "Laveleye's Italy as it is," "Army Reform," "Grove's Dictionary of Music," "Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea, Vol. VI.," and, finally, an article on the Irish question.

THE EASIEST WAY IN HOUSEKEEPING AND COOKING.—By Mrs. Helen Campbell. There is such a wilderness of cook books, upon all plans and of every degree of excellence—or the reverse, that at first one is apt to regard an addition to their number with suspicion, if not with positive disfavor. Yet Mrs. Campbell's handy volume gives a very good reason for its existence, and will be found upon examination a trustworthy, compact, and thoroughly available guide. It is neither too elaborate nor too expensive; it is intended for the great majority of American families in moderate circumstances, and with intelligent female members taking a just pride in their housekeeping. The first part, devoted to such subjects as, "Situation and Arrangement of the House," "Ventilation, Drainage and Water Supply," "Daily Routine of Work," "Fires, Lights and Utensils," etc., is indispensable to the mass of women who begin housekeeping with little knowledge but much zeal. In the second part the all-important themes of "Marketing" and "Cooking" are treated in a thorough and practical manner. The book does not pretend to be an encyclopædia, and it is prepared for the average American woman and family. "Each receipt," says the author, "has been tested personally, often many times; and each is given so minutely that failure is well nigh impossible if the directions are intelligently followed," a point that has not always commended itself to writers of such works. Especially may we notice the chapter on sick room cookery, and the attention given to thrifty and tasteful methods of utilizing fragments that would otherwise be wasted; and a good word should be said for the clear and comprehensive tables and indices which form so valuable an addition to the book. Altogether, Mrs. Campbell is to be congratulated on the production of a work that is new, sound and practical. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.)

QUEENIE'S WHIM.—A novel, by Rosa Nouchette Cary, is written in a quiet, attractive style, and has considerable dramatic merit. The interest lies in the plot. The scene opens in a boarding school kept by a Miss Titheridge, at Granite Lodge. Queenie Marriott, the heroine, is a teacher in the school, and with her little sister suffers severely from the cruelty and meanness of the principal. The story ends in the happy marriage of the heroine. (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia; 1881; 451 pp.)

DRIFT.

—Mr. Froude, the historian, writes to the *Times*, saying that the papers Mr. Carlyle left in his hands, consist of several thousand letters, including his own to members of his family, and letters to him from Goethe, John Stuart Mill, Lord Jeffrey, Sterling, Emerson, Leigh Hunt, Dickens, Thackeray and Varnhagen von Ense; also his journals, private papers, unfinished manuscripts, reminiscences of his father, mother, Edward Irving and Lord Jeffrey, and material for a memoir of Mrs. Carlyle. The reminiscences will be printed exactly as left, but the memoir of Mrs. Carlyle must, in accordance with his instructions, undergo extensive revision.

—*Idoménée*, Mozart's first master-piece, was to have been rendered at the National Theatre of Munich on the 29th of January (the date of the completion of the opera by Mozart); but for certain reasons the performance had to be postponed. It is hoped that this year may witness in Munich a jubilee festival in honor of the composer.

—Frederick Müller, the well known bookseller of Amsterdam, who possesses a restless activity in all bibliographical enterprises, has lately published a catalogue of American portraits and maps of more than ordinary interest. It is not long since he discovered a valuable unpublished manuscript, relating to the early settlement of New York. Mr. Müller has now found a view of the village of New Amsterdam, which is probably the oldest in existence. The picture was drawn with a pen, from the deck of a vessel in the harbor, and colored with water colors. It bears the inscription; "In 't schip Lydia door Laurens Heermansz. Block, 1650." In the ship *Lydia*, by Laurens Heermansz, 1650. The sketch is contained in a wooden frame of equal age, carved with the arms of Amsterdam and Holland. The drawing was made from the harbor, and includes a limited portion of the town, between the church and the mill, as well as the hills to the right, and the bay. In the foreground is a gibbet surrounded by soldiers. The size of the picture is eighteen inches in length by six in width; the frame is broad and solid. It seems probable that this is the original of an engraving in Montanus' *De Nieuwe en de onbekende zeevloed*, of 1671. Mr. Müller has caused a limited number of photographic copies of the painting to be made.

—*La Presse* of Paris announces that the Minister of Public Instruction and of Foreign Affairs has just granted a preliminary sum of \$1,200 to the children of the illustrious Egyptian savant Mariette Bey.

—A rather curious difference has arisen between the *Society of Literature* and the *International Literary Association* of Paris. The former of these reproaches the latter for occupying itself with literary treaties with foreign countries,—something which the first named society seems to think pertains exclusively to itself. It is a fact that the Association has opened negotiations with the United States relative to an international copyright, and has had submitted to it the plan under discussion by English and American publishers. But it seems strange that this should be considered a ground of offence to the other society. But it is a fact, and M. F. de Lesseps has resigned the Presidency of the Association, Victor Hugo remaining honorary President.

—A curious and important historical work is announced as a forthcoming publication in Paris. It is a collection of letters exchanged by M. de Talleyrand and Louis XVII. during the sitting of the Congress of Vienna. The discoverer of this precious collection is M. Pallain. They were found in the archives for foreign affairs. M. Pallain is illustrating them with notes and commentaries.

—*La Nouvelle Revue* has recently published extracts from a collection of letters addressed thirty years ago by Prosper Mérimée to M. Panizzi of the British Museum. The correspondence begins in 1850, by the offer of fourteen volumes of folio MSS., containing the analysis of a certain number of *procès célèbres*, or scandalous affairs of the Papal and Italian Courts at the time of the Second Empire.

FINANCE.

NEW YORK, March 2, 1881.

IT was noted in these columns a week ago that the stock speculation on Wall Street had received a check that had almost precipitated a panic. The very next day after this review closed, a stock market was witnessed that came near causing widespread disaster. Stocks declined heavily throughout the day; but it was only in the last hour that heads seemed to have been lost, and that prices were cut down to the extent of 5 to 20 per cent. On Saturday there was a sharp rally; but since that day the market has been extremely feverish and irregular.

The collapse of the market on last Friday may have been amazing to sanguine "bulls," but it was not to the careful observer of the course of speculation during the last month or two. It is true that the extraordinary stringency of money, resulting from the withdrawal of funds by the national banks to retire circulation, was not generally looked for, but the market had reached a point when only an accident was needed to topple over quotations. As had been pointed out a long time ago, investors had turned away from most shares, appalled at the value which they commanded; and even speculators who bought right and left the stocks of railroads, bankrupt or in the hands of receivers, founded their operations on an expectation of being able to sell out before everybody else wanted to. In other words, the basis of prices at the Stock Exchange was, to a great extent, purely speculative. The prosperous condition of the country and the establishment of a low rate of Government interest were fully discounted before the "crash" came. Speculation was hovering on the brink of a precipice and only awaited some unforeseen occurrence to hurl it downward. It came with the passage of the Funding Bill, which started the movement of the national banks to retire their circulation. Within a week, from \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000 were deposited at the Sub-Treasury to the credit of banks desiring to withdraw their circulation, and these figures represented a contraction in credit of \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000. The rates for the use of money advanced to 1½ per cent. per day and interest, or equivalent to more than 550 per cent. per annum. The monetary stringency was only relieved by a cessation of the bank movement to retire circulation, resulting from the development of a strong opinion that Congress would not pass the Funding Bill, or that, if it did, President Hayes would veto it.

To-night the news comes that the bill has gone through the House of Representatives at Washington, with the Senate amendments unchanged, and the fate of Wall Street speculations will be suspended in the balance until the bill is signed or vetoed, or dies a natural death with the expiration of the present brilliant Congress. But while for a day or a week the stock market may move as the current of speculation is affected by Washington action—and that sharply upward,—the general situation is not encouraging to the sanguine holders of stocks on margins, if their purchases were made at or near present prices. The month of March is always a month when money is in good demand, and even should the Government attempt refunding operations on a low basis of interest, it is not likely that any ease in the market will be found until after the settlements of April 1. The vulnerability of the speculation, so clearly shown in the events of the closing week of February, has reinforced, morally and financially, the "bear" party in Wall Street, and, to conclude, the general confidence of the public in the situation has been shattered to the very centre.

The market for railroad bonds has been affected by the considerations which have influenced stock speculation, and prices generally are lower. The dealings have, however, been comparatively small, on account of a diversion of speculative interest to the exciting movements in stocks. State bonds have also been affected by the same influence, and have been dull and lower. The Government bond speculation has been active, but prices were irregular and in most cases lower.

There was a stupid clerical error in the bank statement last week, which was not discovered until Monday, and by which the average amount of deposits was made to appear \$10,000,000 less than the actual figures. There are always uncharitable people; and some persons belonging to this class have not hesitated to express their belief that the error was not as unintentional as the officers of the Clearing-House would now like to induce the public to believe. It was rather singular that the amount of deposits held by one of the banks, in the official statement sent out for publication, should be just \$10,000,000 less than the correct figures, the result of an error in copying the statement from the original entry in the Clearing-House, which also contains an error of just \$10,000,000 in the footings of the deposits of all the banks. An effort has since been made to create the impression that the banks in which Mr. Jay Gould is known to be interested were so extremely indignant on account of the error that they had refused to make any more reports to the Clearing-House. All this is, of course, mere talk, which may have a purpose to serve. It may be that Wall Street operators judge others by themselves, when they look with suspicion upon every movement that will not bear the most searching investigation. Certain it is that any attempt at misrepresentation never fails to meet with bitter denunciation.

The bank statement, when corrected, shows a falling off of over \$11,000,000 in deposits, and \$7,775,400 in specie, the loans contracted being \$4,222,900, while there was only a very slight change in the amount of legal tenders. Owing to the heavy reduction in the reserve, brought about by the deposit of gold to redeem bonds deposited with the Treasury to secure circulation, notwithstanding the large reduction in deposits, the surplus reserve has all disappeared, and in its place there is a deficit of over a million of dollars, the percentage of the reserve now being 24.66 per cent. of the deposits. The circulation appears reduced \$2,077,900, the New York banks now having outstanding only \$16,181,600, and they hold less specie than at any other time

during the current year. The clearances for the past week were greater than during any previous week in the history of the associated banks of this city, amounting to \$1,143,978,545.

If a scheme could be devised by which Congressmen could be made pecuniarily responsible for all damage done by bad legislation or attempted legislation, whenever they permit prospective political gain to take the place of duty to their constituents and the best interests of the country at large, it might be very safe to assume that the financial interests of the country would be much more thoroughly understood and respected at Washington than at present. The great injury that has been done during the past ten days by Congress in its treatment of the Funding Bill, which has finally passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives, cannot be estimated, and will not be fully appreciated for some time to come. If there was a possibility of floating \$700,000,000 Government bonds and notes bearing only 3 per cent. interest at par (a question about which there have always been two opinions), there seems little doubt in the minds of leading financial men, at present, that the opportunity has been lost by the outrageous legislation attempted. Values have been unsettled; all classes of financial institutions have been thrown into a sea of doubt and uncertainty respecting the future; the banking interest, which is always sensitive and timid whenever any new scheme is brought forward, has received another shock, from which it cannot quickly recover; and this has all occurred without any possible gain to any one, save certain assumed political advantages.

The monthly public debt statement shows a reduction in the debt for the month of February of \$11,843,155, and since June 30, 1880, \$62,215,882. The gold and silver certificates were increased a little over \$1,000,000, and the available cash at the end of the month was \$160,662,822, against \$148,616,447 at the end of January. The assets consist in part of \$84,277,000 gold coin, \$88,760,000 gold bullion, \$52,939,000 silver standard dollars, \$25,813,000 fractional currency coin, and \$5,357,000 silver bullion. The payments by the New York Sub-Treasury for the past month amounted

to \$34,020,985, while the receipts were \$59,065,943, leaving a balance at the end of the month of \$99,074,892. Of the receipts \$12,060,258 were by transfers, and there was transmitted to the Philadelphia Mint from the Assay Office \$13,834,508. The coinage at the Philadelphia Mint amounted to \$5,800,860 gold, \$500,000 silver, and \$37,040 of minor coins, making a total of \$6,337,900.

In order to counteract the influence of Mr. F. B. Gowen in his desperate efforts to retain his position at the head of the Philadelphia and Reading Company, the representatives in this country of the McCalmont Brothers—Messrs. Kidder, Peabody & Co.,—have issued a circular calling for proxies to be used at the forthcoming election, to be held in a few days, to change the management of the Company. This action, following the oft-repeated statements that the McCalmont Brothers had been bought off, and that the stock held by them would be voted in the interest of Mr. Gowen, cannot fail to have a very decided effect upon those security-holders who may not yet have fully made up their minds as to how they should vote, especially when they are told, in a letter of recent date from the McCalmont Brothers to Mr. Gowen, that, "Whatever may be the result of the deferred bond scheme, we are clearly of the opinion that you should cease to be the President of the Company." And this statement is supplemented by Messrs. Kidder, Peabody & Co., who say, in speaking of the English house, that, "It is their purpose, as it is their manifest interest, not to part with any of their Reading securities, if it is possible to secure such prudent management as will restore the Company to the prosperity which it enjoyed prior to the accession of Mr. Gowen to its presidency."

The Philadelphia market has, of course, sympathized with the unsettled financial condition of the country on account of the action of Congress; but the fluctuations in stock quotations have not been so great as at the New York Stock Exchange, and money has commanded a lower rate of interest than at the great centre of the money market. There were large sales of Lehigh Navigation, Pennsylvania Railroad and Reading stocks, and an active business was done in Buffalo, Pittsburg and Western, the Northern Pacific and Philadelphia and Erie, the rest of the market being quiet.

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INCOME, 8,735,699.43
\$44,716,697.05

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid Policy-Holders for Claims by Death, Dividends, Surrender Values, Discounted and Matured Endowment, and Tontine Policies, and Annuities, \$4,792,937.97
Other Disbursements as per detailed Statement, 1,513,915.06

NET CASH ASSETS, December 31, 1880, \$38,409,844.02

ASSETS.

Bonds and Mortgages, \$9,053,475.50
United States Stocks, 2,513,591.00
State, City and other Stocks authorized by the Laws of the State, 8,987,422.47
Loans secured by United States and other Stocks, 7,064,562.88
Real Estate, 8,368,363.62
Cash and other Ledger Assets as per extended Statement, 2,422,428.55

Market value of Stocks over Cost, \$38,409,844.02
Accrued Interest, Rents, and Premiums as per extended statement, 1,521,051.28

Total Assets, Dec. 31, 1880, \$41,108,602.32

TOTAL LIABILITIES, including legal reserve for re-insurance of all existing policies, 31,880,308.11

Total Undivided Surplus, \$9,228,294.21

Risks assumed in 1880, \$35,170,805.00
Risks Outstanding, \$177,597,703.00

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